

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 260 136

UD 024 174

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TITLE The Relationship between Swedish and Immigrant Adolescents. An Analysis of Attitudes and Understanding of Attitudes.
INSTITUTION Stockholm Univ. (Sweden).; Swedish Commission on Migrants' Languages and Culture in School and Adult Education, Stockholm.
REPORT NO ISBN-91-38-07538-5
PUB DATE Mar 83
NOTE 138p.; Some pages contain light type. For related documents, see UD 023 727.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adolescents; *Ethnic Bias; Ethnic Groups; *Ethnic Relations; Foreign Countries; *Immigrants; *Peer Relationship; Racial Relations; Secondary Education; *Student Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS *Sweden

ABSTRACT

Swedish society has changed rapidly in recent years because of a large and rather sudden influx of immigrants. The ethnic and racial attitudes of the present adolescent population are of great interest, therefore, because they will establish the future of racial relations in Sweden. Two separate studies analyzed the congruence-discongruence of interracial perceptions among Swedes and immigrants. The first study investigated the attitudes of sample groups of Swedish, Finnish, and Assyrian adolescents in Sodertalje, an industrial town with a large number of immigrants. In summary, the findings show that Swedish and Finnish males have the most negative attitudes of any group, and these are directed toward the Assyrians. The Assyrians say they have neutral-to-positive attitudes toward both Swedes and Finns, and Swedish and Finnish females report similar attitudes toward Assyrians. The second study compared responses of the Sodertalje Swedish sample with those of an adolescent sample from Falun, a community having minimal contact with immigrants. The Falun and Sodertalje Swedes, it was found, have similarly negative attitudes toward Assyrians, but the Sodertalje adolescents have more positive attitudes toward the Finns. Further, it seems that sex plays a greater role than contact in such issues, and males in general are more extreme than females in their attitudes and understanding. Whether these findings call for a radical revision of Sodertalje schools is unclear, but cooperative learning techniques would possibly be of use in reducing prejudice. The preface and chapter 5 of the document, containing summary and conclusions, are presented in both English and Swedish. (KH)

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SWEDISH AND IMMIGRANT ADOLESCENTS

An Analysis of Attitudes and Under-
standing of Attitudes

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syn på varandra i Södertälje och Zolun utförd av David
Mellor och Lucy Firth på uppdrag av språk- och
kulturarvsutredningen och International Graduate School,
IES, Stockholms Universitet

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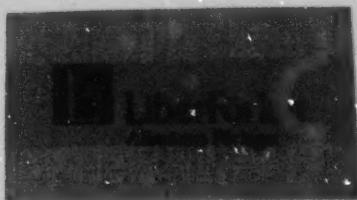
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Ds U 1983: 4



ISBN 91-38-07538-5
astrabildgästsk. Stockholm 1983

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Förord

Språk- och kulturarvsutredningen har till uppgift att analysera olika frågor som aktualiserats på skolområdet och inom vuxenutbildningen med hänsyn till målen för invandrar- och minoritetspolitiken.

I utredningens direktiv påpekas bl.a. att det är enligt mål och riktlinjer i Lgr 80 - liksom i Lgy 70 - skolans uppgift att fostra eleverna så att de känner solidaritet med andra länder, folkslag och kulturer. Det är också skolans uppgift att fostra eleverna att förstå och känna samhörighet med minoritetsgrupper inom vårt eget land. Detta är ännu ett mål som ställer krav på att skolans personal har kännedom om normer och rättsuppfattningar inom andra kulturer, om skilda historiska traditioner och erfarenheter. Det är viktigt att få en uppfattning om på vilka vägar och genom vilka åtgärder detta bäst och snabbast kan åstadkommas.

Skolans personal behöver förberedelse för att kunna ta ett aktivt ansvar för samverkan mellan elever med skiftande kulturella bakgrunder.

Studien behandlar attityder mellan svenska ungdomar och invandrarungdomar i Södertälje och Falun.

Studien har möjliggjorts genom samfinansiering mellan International Graduate School, IES, Stockholms Universitet och språk- och kulturarvsutredningen. Studien genomfördes av David Mellor och Lucy Firth som också skrev denna rapport.

David Mellor, B.Sc.Hons (Melbourne), M.Clin.Psychology (W.Australia), Dip.Educ. (Murdoch), Dip.Soc.Sc. (Stockholm) och Lucy Firth, B.Econ. (W.Australia), Dip.Soc.Sc. (Stockholm), kommer båda från Australien.

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Studien ingår i det samlade underlaget för språk- och kulturarvs-
utredningens arbete.

Det är utredningens förhoppning att studien också skall stimulera
till fortsatt forskning i ämnet och lokalt utvecklingsarbete.

Stockholm i mars 1983

Birgitta Ulvhammar

Bertil Jakobsson

Preface

The Government's Commission on Migrants' Languages and Culture in School and Adult Education in Sweden has the task to analyse different questions which have been actualized in education for youth and adults with regard to the goals of the Swedish immigrant and minority policy.

In the terms of reference for the Commission it is pointed out that the Goals and Guidelines of the Compulsory Comprehensive School Curriculum (Lgr 80), like those of the Upper Secondary School Curriculum (Lgy 70), make it the task of schools to inculcate a sense of solidarity with other countries, peoples and cultures. It is also the task of schools to train pupils to understand and to feel a sense of community with minority groups in our own country. This is another goal requiring, on the part of school staff, a knowledge of norms and legal principles in other cultures and a knowledge of different historical traditions and experiences. It is important to size up the ways and means whereby this can be best and most rapidly achieved.

There is a need for preparing school staff to be able to take on an active responsibility for co-operation between pupils of varied cultural backgrounds at school.

This study concerns attitudes between Swedish and immigrant adolescents in Södertälje and Falun.

The study was jointly financed by the International Graduate School, IES, University of Stockholm and the Commission on Migrants' Languages and Culture in School and Adult Education in Sweden. The study was carried out by David Mellor and Lucy Firth who wrote this report.

David Mellor, B.Sc.Hons (Melbourne), M.Clin.Psychology (W.Australia), Dip.Educ. (Murdoch), Dip.Soc.Sc. (Stockholm) and Lucy Firth, B.Econ. (W.Australia), Dip.Soc.Sc. (Stockholm), both come from Australia.

The study forms part of all the material collected to serve as a basis for the work of the Commission.

It is the hope of the Commission that this study will also stimulate continued research on the subject of the study and stimulate local work of development in this field.

Stockholm March 1983

Birgitta Ulvhammar

Bertil Jakobsson

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Problem Area	2
1.2 Background to the Swedish Demography	3
1.3 Minority Policy in Sweden	7
1.4 The Adjustment of Immigrants to Sweden: the Problem of Identity	8
1.5 The Adjustment of Swedes to Immigrants: Xenophobia	9
1.6 A Note on Prejudice	12
1.7 Prejudice and Children	17
1.8 Summary	20
1.9 Aims of the Present Studies	21

Chapter 2: Methodology for the Studies

2.1 Basis of the Technique	23
2.2 Technique Developed for Study 1	30
2.3 Obtaining the Data	32
2.4 Background to the Attitude Questionnaire	33
2.5 Pilot Study to Test the Questionnaire and Technique	36
2.6 Subscales and Scoring	37
2.7 Subjects: Defining the Immigrant Population	38

Chapter 3: Study 1 - An Analysis of the Relationship
between three Racial Groups in Södertälje

3.1 The Setting	42
3.2 The Subjects	43
3.3 Results	45

3.3.1 The Relationship between Swedes and Finns	45
(a) Attitudes	45
(b) Meta-perspectives on the Swedish/Finnish Relationship	47
1. The Swedes' Prediction of the Finnish Response to the Anti-Swedish Scale	47
2. The Finns' Prediction of the Swedish Response to the Anti-Finnish Scale	49
(c) Summary of the Swedish/Finnish Relationship	50
3.3.2 The Relationship between Swedes and Assyrians	51
(a) Attitudes	51
(b) Meta-perspectives on the Swedish/Assyrian Relationship	53
1. The Assyrians' Prediction of the Swedish Response to the Anti-Assyrian Scale	53
2. The Swedes' Prediction of the Assyrian Response to the Anti-Swedish Scale	55
(c) Summary of the Swedish/Assyrian Relationship	56
3.3.3 The Relationship between Finns and Assyrians	58
(a) Attitudes	58
(b) Meta-perspectives on the Finnish/Assyrian Relationship	59
1. The Assyrian Prediction of the Finnish Response to the Anti-Assyrian Scale	59
2. The Finns' Prediction of the Assyrian Response to the Anti-Finnish Scale	61
(c) Summary of the Finnish/Assyrian Relationship	62

3.3.4 Other Findings	64
(a) Findings from the Anti-Assyrian Scale	64
(b) Findings from the Anti-Finnish Scale	65
(c) Findings from the Anti-Swedish Scale	65
(d) Findings Relating to Sex Differences	66
(e) The Ability to Predict the Scores of Other Groups: Understanding	68
3.4 Discussion	69
3.5 Summary	79

Chapter 4: Study 2 - High- and Low-Contact with
Immigrants and its Relationship to Attitudes and
Understanding

4.1 Introduction	81
4.2 The Comparative Community	84
4.3 The Subjects	85
4.4 Results	85
4.4.1 Attitudes to Finns	85
4.4.2 Attitudes to Assyrians	86
4.4.3 Meta-perspectives	87
(a) The Swedes' Meta-perspective of Finns' Attitudes to Swedes	87
(b) The Swedes' Meta-perspective of Assyrians' Attitudes to Swedes	89
4.4.4 Predictions Relating to the Finnish/Assyrian Relationship	90
(a) The Finns' Attitude to Assyrians	90
(b) The Assyrians' Attitude to Finns	91
4.5 Discussion	93

Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusions

99

References

105

List of Tables

1. Summary of Perspectives on Relationships Examined in Study 1	31
2. Items Making Up the Anti-Swedish, Anti-Finnish and Anti-Assyrian Subscales	37
3. Breakdown of the Finnish Sample by Place of Birth of Self and Parents, Sex and Home language	43
4. Breakdown of the Assyrian Sample by Place of Birth of Self and Parents, and Sex	44
5. Scores of the Swedes and Finns on the Anti-Swedish Scale	45
6. Scores of the Swedes and Finns on the Anti-Finnish Scale	46
7. Swedes' Meta-perspective of Finns' Anti-Swedish Attitudes, Assyrians' Prediction of the Finns' Scores, and the Finns' Obtained Scores	48
8. Finns' Meta-perspective of Swedes' Anti-Finnish Attitudes, Assyrians' Prediction of Swedes' Scores, and the Scores Obtained by Swedes	49
9. Scores of the Swedes and Assyrians on the Anti-Swedish Scale	52
10. Scores of the Swedes and Assyrians on the Anti-Assyrian Scale	52
11. Assyrians' Meta-perspective of Swedes' Anti-Assyrian Attitudes, Finns' Prediction of Swedes' Scores, and the Scores Obtained by Swedes	54
12. Swedes' Meta-perspective of Assyrians' Anti-Swedish Attitudes, Finns' Prediction of the Assyrians' Scores, and the Scores Obtained by Assyrians	55

13. Scores of the Finns and Assyrians on the Anti-Finnish Scale	58
14. Scores of the Finns and Assyrians on the Anti-Assyrian Scale	59
15. Assyrians' Meta-perspective of Finns' Anti-Assyrian Attitudes, Swedes' Prediction of Finns' Scores, and Scores Obtained Finns	60
16. Finns' Meta-perspective of Assyrians' Anti-Finnish Attitudes, Swedes' Prediction of the Assyrians' Score, and the Scores Obtained by Assyrians	61
17. Predictions of Others' Scores made by Each Group, and their Correctness	67
18. Assyrians' Scores and Swedish and Finnish Predictions of their Scores for Selected Dummy Items from the Questionnaire	71
19. Assyrians' Scores and Swedish and Finnish Predictions of their Scores for Selected Dummy Items from the Questionnaire	77
20. Scores of the Falun and Södertälje Subjects on the Anti-Finnish Scale	86
21. Scores of the Falun and Södertälje Subjects on the Anti-Assyrian Scale	87
22. Falun and Södertälje Subjects' Meta-perspective of Finns' Anti-Swedish Scores, and the Scores Obtained by Finns	88
23. Falun and Södertälje Subjects' Meta-perspective of Assyrians' Anti-Swedish Scores, and the Scores Obtained by Assyrians	89

VII

24. Finnish Anti-Assyrian Scores as Predicted by Falun and Södertälje Swedes, and as Obtained by Finns in Study 1	70
25. Assyrian Anti-Finnish Scores as Predicted by Falun and Södertälje Swedes, and as Obtained by Assyrians in Study 1	92

VIII

List of Figures

1. Information leaflet from a Swedish anti-immigrant organization	10
2. Diagrammatic representation of interpersonal behaviour according to the Interpersonal Perception Technique	24
3. Expanded representation of interpersonal behaviour according to the Interpersonal Perception Technique	25
4. Diagrammatic summary of the Swedish-Finnish relationship	51
5. Diagrammatic summary of the Swedish-Assyrian relationship	57
6. Diagrammatic summary of the Finnish-Assyrian relationship	63

IX

Acknowledgements

In carrying out this project, the authors have received help and advice from a number of sources. The most important of these sources, in terms of making the project a reality was the 315 students from Södertälje and Falun who agreed to participate in it. Underlying the participation of the students was the welcome and co-operation afforded to us by the principals and staff of the four schools from which data was collected, and one step beyond that was the willingness of the local School Boards to give permission for the project to be carried within their communities.

Having obtained the data, the task of analysis was greatly facilitated, and indeed only made possible by financial assistance from the International Graduate School, Stockholm University, and the Commission on Migrants' Languages and Culture in Schools and Adult Education in Sweden. The International Graduate School also assisted financially with the collection of data in Falun. Those responsible for arranging this help, Thomas Lundén at the IGS, and Birgitta Ulvhammar and Bertil Jakobsson are gratefully thanked here, not only for their financial support, but also for their encouragement when others were skeptical. Finally, the interest of Charles Westin and Erland Bergman of the Diskrimineringsutredningen is gratefully acknowledged.

David Mellor and Lucy Firth
Stockholm, July 1982.

Sammanfattning och slutsatser - svensk version av kapitel 5

Forskningen som rapporteras i denna redogörelse startade för att undersöka attityderna mellan svenska ungdomar och invandrarungdomar och hur dessa attityder upplevs av respektive målgrupp.

I kapitel 1 konstateras att det på senare år skett en snabb förändring i den svenska befolkningssammansättningen p.g.a den stora tillströmningen av invandrare. Södertälje, där denna undersökning utförts är en av de städer i Sverige som påverkats mest. Dagens ungdomsgeneration är den första som vuxit upp med invandrare som permanent inslag i miljön. Därför är deras attityder viktiga för Sveriges framtid. Om ungdomar idag har och om de i framtiden behåller negativa attityder, så kan en sådan disharmoni beteckna början på en lång period med spänning mellan etniska¹ grupper. Som viktig framstår också uppfattningen hos svenska ungdomar och invandrarungdomar om varandras attityder, eftersom dessa är en faktor som påverkar beteenden mellan etniska grupper.

Undersökningarna utvecklade ett frågeformulär som mätinstrument för inter-etniska attityder och en metod som använde frågeformuläret för att mäta ungdomarnas förtäelse för sådana attityder. Såväl metoden som formuläret visade sig vara värdefulla hjälpmedel för att undersöka sådana problem. Emellertid finns det hos båda vissa aspekter som kanske kunde förbättras genom vidareutveckling. För undersökningarna, vilka utgör pilotstudier i utnyttjandet av det beskrivna arbetssättet, fanns inte tillräckligt med tid och resurser att genomföra vidareutvecklingen. Lika så har det inhämtade materialet inte utnyttjats till fullo i analysarbetet och svaren till många av frågorna som kan uppstå genom denna rapport skulle möjligen bli tillgängliga genom vidare analys.

¹ Författarna använder ofta termerna race, racial och inter-racial. I översättningen används beteckningarna etnisk grupp, etnisk respektive inter-etnisk.

Genom att använda den utvecklade metoden på svenskar och invandrargrupper i Södertälje visade undersökningarna att problem faktiskt finns i Södertälje vad beträffar såväl attityder som förståelse för attityder. Den mest utsatta gruppen är assyrierna,² eftersom såväl svenskar som finländare, mest pojkar, har negativa attityder mot dem. Att sådana attityder existerar inses av assyrierna och bekräftas av den andra gruppen i respektive fall. Vidare är sannolikt assyrierna missförstådda av både finländare och svenskar, vilka felaktigt uppfattar assyrierna som anti-finska och anti-svenska. Enligt den modell som använts som grund för undersökningarna skulle detta vara en faktor som bidrar till såväl svenska som finländska attityder och beteenden gentemot assyrierna. Relationerna mellan finländare och svenskar i Södertälje tycks vara någorlunda positiva.

En andra undersökning visade att även om kontakt med invandrare icke föranlett svenskar i Södertälje att inta mera negativa attityder mot assyrier än en kontrollgrupp, så har inte heller kontakten lett till att deras attityder blivit mer positiva. Vidare visade sig deras förståelse för assyriernas attityder inte vara väsentligt bättre än kontrollgruppens. I sådana frågor tycks det som om köns-tillhörighet spelar större roll än kontakt. I allmänhet var pojkar mera extrema än flickor i sina attityder och brist på förståelse. Emellertid var svenskarna i Södertälje mera positivt inställda än kontrollgruppen till finländare men det bekräftades inte att svenskarna hade bättre förståelse för finländarna.

I resonemang om dessa resultat och framtiden så finns det några överväganden som skulle kunna föreslås för att förbättra de undersökta relationerna. Som konstaterats ovan är invandrare numera ett permanent inslag i det svenska samhället och inställningen till assyrier bland såväl svenskar som finländare inom de undersökta skolorna i Södertälje är inte positiv. Enbart undervisning eller överföring av kunskaper om invandrarkultur räcker inte för att förbättra

² Författarna använder termen Assyrians (assyrier) trots att undersökningen omfattar assyrier/syrianer och förklarar i kapitel 3 under 3.2 på sidan 45 sitt val av term.

attityder eller öka förståelse, vilket framgår av undersökningsresultaten. Snarare måste undervisningsprogram i etniskt blandade skolor vara utformade så att etnisk integrering främjas, om de skall ge ett värdefullt bidrag till inter-etniska relationer. Följaktligen, enligt Allport (1954), om inter-etniska relationer skall förbättras genom kontakt mellan etniska grupper måste vissa krav uppfyllas av dessa program. Utan jämlik status mellan etniska grupper, ömsesidigt beroende, gemensamma mål och stöd från lag, sedvänja och myndighet, kommer inter-etnisk kontakt endast att understryka befintliga diskriminerande attityder och därmed kanske bekräfta eller t.o.m förstora intolerans och fördomar. Att variabler såsom jämlik status, gemensamma mål och ömsesidigt beroende faktiskt bidrar till förbättrade relationer och ökad förståelse framgår till exempel av Elliot (1970), Cohen och Roper (1972), Deutch (1949) och Eherif (1956).

Efter att ha tillämpat dessa principer i klassrummet har Bulloch (1978) noterat att skolgång i etniskt blandade klasser inte automatiskt leder fram till större tolerans, men ju intimare kontakten blir desto mer ökar toleransen. Bulloch rekommenderar att skoladministratörer för att förbättra attityderna mellan etniska grupper bör använda etniskt blandade grupper och gemensamma belöningar som undervisningsteknik. Annan forskning har faktiskt undersökt effektiviteten hos de av Bulloch rekommenderade metoderna. Denna forskning begagnar sig av flerkulturella arbetslag, dvs. små grupper med elever med olika etnisk bakgrund som arbetar tillsammans och som belönas efter gruppens prestationer. Metoden bygger på principen att gruppsamarbete ökar ömsesidig attraktion mellan medlemmarna, Lott och Lott (1965) och är baserad på Allports förutsägelse att jämlik status och samverkande interaktion mellan individer med olika etnisk bakgrund bidrar till nedbytning av fördomar. Att sådana metoder är effektiva har dokumenterats många gånger om, t.ex. Slavin (1979) som ledde ett experiment där resultaten stöder påståendet att flerkulturella arbetslag kan förbättra

etniska relationer genom att öka tvärkulturell vänskap och attraktion. Han gör gällande att resultaten varken kan tillskrivas lärarpersonlighet eller "Hawthorne"-effekten. Weigel, Wiser och Cook (1975) fann att ett sådant lagarbete i vissa fall ökade inomgruppsympatier samt minskade tvärkulturella konflikter. Som nämnts tidigare, fann Bulloch att undervisning i etniskt blandade klasser inte var förbunden med större etnisk tolerans, medan däremot så var fallet med kontakt som medförde jämlik status.

I annan forskning har Slavin (1977) påvisat effektiviteten hos tvärkulturella arbetslag att öka antalet tvärkulturella vänskapsförhållanden. Detsamma gäller Aronson, Blaney, Sikes, Stephen och Snapp (1975), DeVries, Edwards och Slavin (1978). Geffner (1978) har också visat att inlärningsmetoder som bygger på ömsesidigt beroende och samarbete ger viktiga förbättringar i inter-etnisk varseblivning. DeVries, Edwards och Slavin är sedan ytterst koncisa då de framhåller att budskapet för lärare är tydligt, tvärkulturella arbetslag minskar rasfördomar och konflikter. Slavin (1979) är än mer radikal då han hävdar att tvärkulturella arbetslag borde utvecklas som ersättning för snarare än som supplement till traditionella undervisningsformer.

Således utgör samarbete som arbetsform en väsentlig förändring i tekniken för klassrumsundervisning som medför samtidiga förändringar i såväl belöningsystem som arbetsuppgift och auktoritetsstruktur inom klassrummet. Forskningsresultaten visar emellertid att sådana för metodens effekter på gruppanshörigheten värdefulla variabler som ömsesidig omsorg och etniska relationer är obestridligt positiva. Inte bara det, det är dessutom väldokumenterat att sådana metoder, av vilka det finns en mängd, höjer elevernas prestationer och självkänsla förutom att metoderna för med sig andra positiva resultat vilka beskrivs av Slavin (1980).

Huruvida situationen inom skolorna i Södertälje kräver sådana radikala strukturförändringar ligger kanske utanför ramen för denna rapport. Snarare har undersökningen belyst vissa problem som finns i relationerna mellan de tre undersökta etniska grupperna och som borde bekräftas i fortsatta undersökningar. Säkert skulle samarbete som arbetsform vara mycket lämpligt i en situation där det finns fler än två minoritetsgrupper. Det torde också vara mycket önskvärt med de möjliga vinster som kan fås genom att bryta ner stereotyper och öka individens förmåga att hantera stereotypernas inverkan med kritisk styrka. Vidare, om innebörden i de i rapportens första kapitel citerade sociologiska teorierna värdesätts, finns det alltför många andra aspekter i svensk regeringspolitik som kan tänkas leda till fördomar för att man skall låta denna möjlighet att minska sådana gå förbi.

Chapter 1:

Introduction

1.1 The Problem Area

During an excursion through Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, the stereotype of Swedes as an accepting, tolerant and hospitable race might soon come under suspicion. In many subway stations, on the walls of buildings in both the old and new areas, and in many elevators there are many examples of racist graffiti: for example, "Go home niggers", "Invandra ut", and other writings referring to the "svart skalle". During the evenings in some areas it is not uncommon to find groups of young Swedes antagonizing coloured immigrants, and newspapers have reported from time to time of clashes between Swedish and immigrant youth. Given that until very recently Sweden was one of the most ethnically and culturally homogenous countries in Europe, there is perhaps a warning in these observations: one might wonder if Sweden is heading for the same troubles which characterize other countries that have also recently become multi-racial, for example, England. It can be argued of course that the antagonists in Swedish society are a minority group, and that there is no real problem in Sweden. However, a recent survey of adolescents in Göteborg by Takala (1978), which was the subject of lively press coverage, did in fact indicate that Swedish youth in general see immigrants in negative terms. One of the contentions of the present paper is that as the present population of adolescents, at least in the cities, is the first to grow up with a significant number of immigrant co-citizens, their attitudes and behaviour will be vital factors in determining the future of race relations in Sweden. The aim of the studies reported here was to attempt to evaluate the attitudes of Swedish and immigrant youth to each other, and to discover how each group perceives the attitudes of the other. If

Takad's results are replicated, and it can be shown that the immigrant population believes that its Swedish counterpart has a negative attitude to it, it is possible to argue that the Swedes are behaving in such a way, either at the micro- or macro-level, to project this attitude to the immigrants. Similarly, an analysis in the opposite direction may be able to give some insights into the behaviour of immigrants and how it is perceived and interpreted by Swedes. A further aim of this paper was to examine the results obtained in these analyses in relation to certain features of the education system, particularly in areas with high immigrant populations.

1.2 Background to the Swedish Demography

As stated above, since the 1930's Sweden has changed from being a country with an ethnically and culturally homogenous population into a country with a large number of minority ethnic groups. Historically, Sweden's policy regarding immigrants has fluctuated between an "open door" policy and one of strict controls. From 1860 until World War I, foreigners required neither visa nor passport to enter Sweden. During the war, controls on immigration were introduced, but the post-war period was marked by a brief period of liberalization of the exchange of people between countries. Sweden for her part abolished visa requirements for a number of countries, especially those from which no large scale immigration was expected. However, because of the high unemployment in Sweden, and the fear of increased immigration from Germany and Eastern Europe in particular, the Swedish government introduced progressively more restrictive immigration policies

aimed at protecting the Swedish labour market against increased immigration of visa-exempted foreigners seeking work. The many orders introduced in this period were finally combined in the Aliens' Act of 1927, with the underlying purpose being related to labour market policies. However, it was also stated by the Minister responsible, that:

'from the standpoint of security and order, all kinds of difficulties must be expected from increased immigration.... There is reason to assume that criminally-inclined individuals may try to come to Sweden in numbers. The uncertain political situation in some countries may also lead to immigration by a number of undesirable elements..... Stricter control... is therefore necessary.'¹

In addition to this line of thinking, the belief that Sweden should have social unity, and that the mingling of races would have dangerous social consequences gained general acceptance during the 1920's. These racial theories, according to Hammar (1964) had the same origin as European racism in general, and perhaps were based on Lombrosian thought which was extremely popular and influential at this time in many fields (for example, criminal policy). Thus, the introduction of strict immigration policies aimed to protect not only the Swedish labour market, but also the homogenous nature of Swedish society.

¹ Cited by the National Preparatory Committee for the World Population Conference, in A Biography of a People (1974), p.95.

The new immigration laws were applied more and more strictly when the trend of political events in Europe built up the pressure of refugees on Swedish borders. In retrospect, Sweden now laments the fact that the Jews from nearby countries were denied entry, for it was only later when World War II brought streams of refugees into Sweden that the legislation and application of the laws eased. However, due to Sweden's neutrality in the war, and in contrast to the post-World War I period, an economic boom developed in Sweden and a labour shortage was created. Once again then, the labour market left its mark on the immigration policies which eventually reverted to an "open door" type policy. Sweden then, received large groups of refugees, firstly from Finland, Estonia and Latvia, and later from Hungary. In addition, movement across national borders had already been facilitated by the abolition of work permits for Scandinavian Countries as early as 1943, and the abolition of the compulsory passport system between Scandinavian countries took place in 1954.

The post-war period then, saw Swedish industry in good shape, and a liberal policy toward immigration, a situation which continued up until the late 1960's. Although Hammar(1979) states that Sweden had just become an "immigrant" country in the 1960's, the growing immigration to Sweden began to catch the attention of society, and in 1967 controls over immigrants seeking employment were again increased. According to the government, it was not a matter of stopping immigration, but rather of checking the large spontaneous immigration, so that the foreign nationals who received work and residence permits in Sweden would be afforded acceptable conditions,

comparable with those given to Swedes. So, in contrast to the tightening of controls after World War 1 which aimed at protecting Swedish society, the new policy of the late 1960's was said to be aimed at the protection of immigrants.

As a result of this new policy, the character of immigration to Sweden during the 1970's changed. The great influx of labour ceased, but the immigration of the families of already established immigrants continued. Further, relatively large groups of refugees arrived, and with the differences between European countries being reduced, the immigrants of the 1970's came from more and more distant countries. Thus, the ethnic and cultural diversity in Sweden became greater than ever before.

The present population consists of 8% immigrants or children of immigrants, and 92% Swedes. However, on the assumption that the birthrates of immigrants and Swedes remain in their present ratio, and that the age structure of the immigrant population remains the same, it has been predicted that the proportion of the population below 25 years having foreign origin will increase to about 25% by the end of the century (National Preparatory Committee for the World Population Conference, 1974, p.171). On the basis of this projection, the potential for racial problems will be markedly increased, and it is because of this that much importance is attached by this paper to the attitudes of the present generation of adolescents, who at the turn of the century will be in the middle of their working careers, and perhaps the parents of the next generation. The importance of the role they will play

is emphasized by Rundblad's (1975) statement that Sweden is a country without much tradition of incorporating new population groups within itself.

1.3 Minority Policy in Sweden

With the arrival of significant numbers of immigrants, one of the major issues in Sweden has been how to create a balance within the new society between immigrants and Swedes, given Sweden's basic political/social philosophy of equality and equal opportunity for all. Before the large debates on minority policy began in the 1960's, assimilation of foreign nationals into Swedish society was blindly seen as the only possible course of action for policy to pursue. However, with the debates, an alternative philosophy of cultural pluralism was developed, although even recently, Arnstberg and Ehn (1976) have argued that the pluralistic society is an impossible alternative for Sweden, because the minority groups of immigrants are too small and too few. On the other hand, the National Preparatory Committee for the World Population Conference argued in 1974 that pluralistic solutions must be tried, as assimilation policy, in the sense of a more compulsory adaptation of immigrants to Swedish life is not realistic, and will become less so in the future. But, a pluralistic society can assume vastly different forms, ranging from a more strictly segregated, pluralistic community with Swedes and immigrants separated from each other, to an open community that offers opportunities for immigrants to participate on an equal footing in the economic and social life of the host country. Sweden has officially opted for the latter of these types of pluralistic society, although

what develops depends on the actions of the majority population. The present immigration policy then, produced by the Commission on Immigration in 1974 aims to:

- (1) honour equal opportunity promises to immigrants;
- (2) provide cultural freedom of choice;
- (3) facilitate co-operation between Swedes and immigrants.

The achievement of these aims has not been easy, partly because they are too idealistic, partly because they are contradictory, and partly because of the lack of tradition in dealing with immigrant groups on the part of Swedes, as mentioned above. Further, Ålund (1978) has noted that the immigrant population is made up of many groups that cannot be treated alike.

The problems of creating the idealistic pluralistic society might be viewed in terms of two processes that will be dealt with briefly below. These are:

- (1) the adjustment of immigrants to their new life situation;
- (2) the adjustment of Swedes to the immigrants.

1.4 The Adjustment of Immigrants to Sweden: the Problem of Identity

One of the most written-about aspects of immigration to Sweden has been the ability of immigrants to adjust to Swedish society, and the consequent question of identity: does the immigrant maintain his previous identity in a new setting, or does he develop a new Swedish identity? For example, Schwartz (1973) has addressed the question of whether or not it is possible for immigrants to become

"Swedish", while Gordon and Crosin (1973) have argued that a positive adjustment requires the acceptance of a double identity, and the development of the ability to see oneself as oneself. Olkiewicz (1975) has argued in fact that stigmatization experiences on the part of the immigrant lead to doubts about identity, and the creation of feelings of being an outsider and alone. Thus, in order to avoid loss of identity, immigrants can either associate only with other immigrants who have the same stigmatization problems, thus becoming a member of a ghetto-like group and developing prejudices against Swedes, or they can try to get rid of the stigmatization by denying their original identity. However, as will be discussed below, Swedes are not highly accepting of the immigrant in this case either.

1.5 The Adjustment of Swedes to Immigrants: Xenophobia

According to Heyman (1976), the principal problem for Swedes is to accept that Sweden is no longer a one-culture country, and to accept immigrants into their society. But, one of the main problems encountered by immigrants is that they are not accepted into Swedish society. These difficulties have been well-documented by Ehn (1975), Heyman (1976) and many others. Although it might be argued that Swedes also act "coolly" to each other, so their behaviour towards immigrants is not based on special prejudices, there is certain evidence and a body of literature and research suggesting that there is more underlying Swedish attitudes and behaviour toward minority groups. The leaflet shown in Figure 1 is one example of extreme attitudes to immigrants, while in the literature Rundblad (1975) for example has argued that there exists a latent hostility towards

SVERIGE DÖR - LÅT SVERIGE LEVA

Invandringen hotar svenskarna. För varje år blir svenskarna allt färre och invandrarna allt fler. Om fyra generationer finns inget svenskarnas Sverige. Invandrarna och deras attlingar har totalt ockuperat Sverige. Med kanske en turk som diktator och en neger som utrikesminister. Folket är då ett chokladbrunt folk som inte talar svenska utan olika språk huller om buller.

Detta är ingen skräckvision utan en sannolik verklighet om invandringen får fortgå. Redan idag är invandrarkvinnorna lika många som svenskarna på förlösningsskivningarna. Samtidigt som arbetslösheten är hög bland unga svenskar.

Politikerna tiger fegt eller pratar runt, medan LO verkar oroad. Experter larmar: Om svenskarna inte får fler barn, blir vi 25 % färre för varje generation. Om 4 generationer har svenskarna dött ut. Ställ politikerna till ansvar! Kräv handling nu!

Organiserad brottlighet - bordeller, koppleri, sprit- och spelklubbar - styrs övervägande av sydländska invandrare - och de utvisas inte! De stannar kvar, blir allt fler och förstör Sverige moraliskt. Talet om att invandrarna inte belastar socialvården är lögn, säger en arbetsgrupp vid Lunds Universitet. Över en fjärdedel av utomnordiska invandrare ligger socialvården till last, endast 7,5 % svenskar, t. ex. Malmö.

Invandrarna får gratis nya lägenheter, möbler, färg-TV, diskmaskiner, tvättmaskiner, hyran betald, telefon installerad och samtalen betalda och resor för att få anhöriga hit till Sverige - allt enligt Socialstyrelsens handledning 1977 till socialvårdsarbetare (vilken inte är för allmänheten). Inte undra på att svenskarna måste betala världens högsta skatter!

Detta leder till Sveriges förfall! Stoppa detta nationella självmord! Protestera!

Väck regeringen, tfn 08 - 763 10 00 och be att få tala med invandrarministern eller dennes sekreterare!

Väck Invandrarverket, tfn 011 - 10 88 00!

Väck Sveriges Radio, tfn 08 - 784 00 00 och be att få tala med TV 1-chefen eller TV 2-chefen!

Ring även till polisen och tipsa dem, tfn 08 - 769 30 00, om illegala invandrare!

Stöd BSS Demokratiska Kampfond, postgiro 81 81 70 - 3, eller sänd 20:- så får Du ett informationspaket!

BEVARA SVERIGE SVENSKT (BSS) - BOX 35
200 29 MALMÖ

Figure 1. Information leaflet from a Swedish anti-immigrant organization.

foreigners on the part of Swedes - the Swedish xenophobia. The research in fact has shown that Swedes have stereotyped negative attitudes to minority groups in Swedish society. For example, Landen (1971) found in one study that Swedish people have very definite negative thoughts and opinions about gypsies, although they have very little knowledge and experience upon which to base their opinions.

Thus, although Sweden has a very liberal policy toward immigrants and immigrant issues, there are still many problems to be solved. Perhaps at the basis of some of these problems is the fact that a certain degree of stereotyping and prejudice between Swedes and immigrants has developed without good reason. One factor that has been linked to this process is the Swedish press. KÜng (1974) has noted that journalists tend to ignore the positive and interesting events which are constantly going on in the minority communities, and create prejudice, based on negative stereotypes, by writing articles in cases where a foreigner has committed an offence. Similarly, the Nordic Society (1974) has noted that Swedish journalism is in the habit of mentioning foreigners only in articles of a sensational kind, thereby furthering a "we and they" mentality. The Swedish media then, can be seen as a negative influence in the attitude formation of Swedes. But, it can be argued further, that this attitude of the press also has an effect on immigrants. Löwander (1978) has found that at least some immigrants, in this case Yugoslavs, listen more to radio and news programmes in Swedish than do Swedish citizens. It can be argued from this that the "voice of Swedish society" may be producing

a doubly negative effect through its selective reporting: on the one hand it "entices" Swedes to reject immigrants, while on the other it stigmatizes the immigrants, telling them that they are "bad". The immigrant then is neither accepted by Swedish society, nor able to escape from his "negative" identity, and rather than being fluid thereby facilitating the formation of a pluralistic society, the ethnic boundaries are solidified.

1.6 A Note on Prejudice

Although prejudice is often regarded as an emotional response, many studies consider that it has a cognitive rather than emotional basis. For example, Dorsel (1977) has claimed that prejudice can be explained in terms of the most basic constructs of psychological theories of learning, while Davey (1977) has argued that the segmentation of the environment into groups lies at the root of all intellectual development, including prejudice. Without grouping the objects, people and features of the environment on the basis of certain perceived characteristics, man would not be able to conceptualize and operate on the world in an orderly and meaningful manner. However, a stereotype develops when there is an exaggerated belief associated with a particular grouping - for example, all snakes are dangerous. In the case of racial stereotypes, the belief may have negative or positive connotations - for example, Chinese are friendly, Swedes are not; Japanese are honest, gypsies are not. Although such beliefs may be appropriate to some members of the group in question, they are generalized inappropriately to all members. Thus, a stereotype may be viewed as a set of fixed ideas, positively or negatively valued, that accompany a particular

group. The function of a stereotype is, according to Allport (1954) to justify a person's behaviour (overt or covert) in relation to a particular group or category - for example, refusing to live next to gypsies.

Prejudice is such an antipathy based on negatively-valued inflexible generalizations or stereotypes. It may be felt or expressed, and it may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he or she is a member of that group. The net effect of prejudice, thus defined, is to place the object of the prejudice at some disadvantage not necessarily merited by his own behaviour. According to Allport, there are five levels at which prejudice can be acted out:

- (1) Antilocution, or the verbal expression to like-minded friends, of the antagonistic feelings and thoughts;
- (2) Avoidance of members of the group in question, even though such behaviour may lead to self-inconvenience, such as standing on a bus, rather than sitting next to a coloured person;
- (3) Discrimination, meaning the denial to individuals belonging to a particular group, equality of treatment, or the exclusion of members of a group from some activity on the basis of their group membership - for example, the barring of coloured people from a night club;

- (4) Physical attack or acts of violence
against members of some group;
- (5) Extermination, as was successfully done
in the case of Aborigines in the
Australian state of Tasmania, and was
Hitler's plan in relation to European
Jews.

Societies such as Sweden have laws to prevent physical attack and the taking of life, and according to Bell (1978), in a half-hearted attempt to deal with racism, discrimination has been made illegal in some societies. However, such action only deals with overt, empirical behaviour, and beneficial as this may be, it allows a pervasive, covert racism to perpetrate, which is subtle and the existence of which is difficult to prove. To remove prejudice based on stereotypes then, the need is to enhance peoples' ability to make discriminations in the cognitive sense, between individuals of different races or groups. For, as Allport argues, it is a poor policy to try to protect everyone's mind from all encounters with stereotypes. It is better to strengthen peoples' ability to differentiate amongst them, and to handle their impact with critical power.

In contrast to the cognitive theories outlined above, many authors have explained the existence of prejudice by placing a greater emphasis on the rational content of beliefs. In Sweden, Trankell (1974) has argued that prejudice against immigrants on the part of Swedes should be regarded as a

symptom of individual security being threatened. The apparently irrational content and the unreasonable and anti-pathetic character of prejudice can thus be attributed to the social and economic security in which the prejudice arises, and/or to the lack of experience and knowledge of other cultures. A survey by Trankell did in fact show that such a lack of knowledge is characteristic of those who entertain the most conspicuous prejudice against immigrants. The role of prejudice then, is to defend the primary interests of the individual or group - that is, housing, family life, economy, work etc.. In support of this argument, Rundblad (1975) has claimed that the Swedish latent hostility to immigrants is aroused when there is a shortage of housing and employment. On the other hand, Studlar (1977) in investigating the source of racial prejudice in England, examined the influence of social context on individual attitudes over time. Despite previous research indicating that variables such as region, percentage of immigrants in a community, job competition and housing shortages do effect prejudice, the influence of such social context variables on attitudes was found to be non-existent. Thus, although peoples' perceptions of these factors may influence their attitudes, their actual existence or non-existence does not.

At the theoretical level, there has been one particularly lively debate in sociological literature on the determinates of prejudice. Rokeach, Smith and Evans (1960) initially argued that prejudice is mainly determined by perceived dissimilarity of belief held by groups, rather than by ethnic or racial membership. Triandis (1961) criticised

this view and proposed the opposite. Subsequently, Stein, Hardwick and Smith (1965) claimed a resolution to the controversy, demonstrating strong belief and lesser race effects. At the same time, Triandis and Davis (1965) pointed out that for intimate behaviours race may be more important, while more recently, Rokeach (1969) has outlined a number of studies that support the assumed dissimilarity of belief theory of prejudice. Taylor and Guimond (1978), in an attempt to remove the controversy over the methods used in the various research studies reported, conducted an experiment from which they concluded that perceived dissimilarity of belief has more important implications for prejudice, even when attempts are made to emphasize ethnic categorization. However, the relative roles of belief similarity and ethnic group identity may vary according to the ethnic groups in question, and the dynamics of the intergroup situation.

Although the step from these controlled experiments to the real world is of some magnitude, their findings do have relevance for life in Sweden. Firstly, it has already been pointed out that the aim of the Swedish government is to maintain cultural identities in a pluralistic society, which implies that their policies aim to provide the opportunity for the maintenance of dissimilar beliefs, traditions, languages and behaviours. According to the above research, this could facilitate the development of prejudice, apart from any other attitudes that may already exist because of social context factors. Secondly, given that prejudice may be created in society at large by such policies, some theories of child development argue that children will absorb such

prejudice. The importance of society's attitudes to its component subgroups also has strong implications for identity formation in children, and these issues warrant discussion.

1.7 Prejudice and Children

The National Swedish Board of Education (1979) has stated that there is a lack of knowledge about the genesis of prejudice in children, but this perhaps understates the current state of the research, for there has been a large amount of theorizing in this area. Basically this research has taken the form of two types, both of which downplay the role of emotional rationality. The more complex view, the psychodynamic approach, seeks to account for internal emotional processes that result in childhood prejudice. Strong attitudes of prejudice represent hostile and aggressive tendencies that are repressed or inhibited from being expressed toward "in-group" members, and are displaced onto an "out-group". As Bell (1978) and Davidson (1976) point out, this theory seems to grasp an essential component of the more pathological type of prejudice, but it may not be applicable to general societal prejudice. The other approach relies on social learning hypotheses that ethnic and racial stereotypes and corresponding attitudes of prejudice are learned through the imitation of socializing agents. That is to say, children adopt the attitudes of their parents and other important adult figures. That such environmental effects are strong and pervasive has been documented many times over. According to Davey (1977), there are many studies that demonstrate that racial awareness and even racial repugnance can develop before a child reaches five years of age. Similarly, Garrick (1969) has concluded

that prejudice may well be developed before school age, and is therefore acquired principally from parents, while on the other side, Stevenson and Stevenson (1960), and Mielenz (1979) have shown that non-prejudiced parents have non-prejudiced children. On a more general level, Light, Richard and Bell (1978) have shown that children of 8 and 9 years absorb the attitudes of society to non-standard English-speakers in the United States. It might be extrapolated from this finding that if Swedish adults have certain attitudes to immigrants who speak non-standard Swedish (Johansson, 1973, has documented sound substitutions by immigrants speaking Swedish), then the Swedish children will develop the same attitudes. However, in the above study, Light et al also concluded that 8 and 9 year-olds are unable to formulate complete racial stereotypes.

At the individual "receptive" level, the sensitivity of children to the evaluations of his group by others is also well-documented in studies such as those by Lasker (1929) through to Goodman (1964). This sensitivity is of great importance for the process of identity formation, for as a child cannot perceive himself apart from the reactions of others in the world, his identity cannot be achieved outside the context of his own group. But to understand how his group membership defines his place in society, he must comprehend the significance of his group in society. So, self-identity can only be acquired within the total context of the system of preferences and biases that exist in society. The child in a highly-valued group confidently achieves a positive self-image by identifying with his group and assimilating its place in the order of things. In contrast

children who are members of a less-preferred racial or ethnic group are thrust into a situation in which the progressive acquisition of a positive self-identity is in conflict with the societal schemata of social categories which requires them to adopt and accept a contemptuous evaluation of themselves and their group. There is much evidence in the literature to suggest that in fact, under certain conditions, a constant devaluation by children of their own national, ethnic or racial group does take place. From the early studies of Clark and Clark (1947) to the more recent ones of Goodman (1964), Vaughan (1964), Morland (1966), Jahoda and Thompson (1970) and Milner (1970), the trend is steady and convincing: children from under-privileged or low-status groups tend to show a much less direct preference for their own group, and sometimes they show a direct preference for the dominant or high-status group. From their study of children in different European settings, Tajfel, Jahoda, Nemeth, Rim and Johnson (1972) were able to conclude that not only are children highly sensitive to the socially-prevailing evaluations of national and ethnic groups, but further, the system of evaluations has clear effects even in situations which are not characterized by manifest and intense in-group tensions. These results confirmed the earlier findings of Tajfel, Nemeth, Jahoda, Campbell and Johnson (1970).

From the above research and results, it might well be argued, as Davey (1977) has done, that the development of racial or ethnic stereotypes and perhaps prejudice is part of the product of the normal, necessary and rational process of ordering the world. One might expect then, that in a multi-racial society by the time a child reaches adolescence, he/she

will already have a set of attitudes toward other groups, probably consistent with those held by the society at large.

1.8 Summary

In summary, it has been shown above that there has been a rapid change in Swedish society over the last 50 years, primarily due to a large and rather sudden influx of immigrants. Further, the magnitude of this change will increase over the next 20 years, due to the different rates of population increase of immigrants and Swedes. The policies of the Swedish government aim to protect the interests of the immigrant groups by developing a pluralistic society, but among the problems encountered en route to such a society have been the inability of the Swedes to accept the immigrants into their society, and the difficulties immigrants have in establishing an identity consistent with their previous life and their new situation.

Research suggests that Swedes have latent hostility to immigrants and that this hostility may be released as economic conditions deteriorate or are perceived to be deteriorating. The press may be a strong force in maintaining prejudice, due to its selective reporting of events that relate to immigrants. And, applying one sociological theory of prejudice, it can even be argued that the policies of the government themselves enhance the likelihood of prejudice developing.

Today's adolescents are seen as an important group, in that their behaviour and attitudes may set the trend for future race relations in Sweden. They are subject to education policy that attempts to influence their attitudes to immigrants,

and they are the first group of Swedes to actually grow up in a multi-racial society. Some research suggests that they will already have prejudices, because the development of such is part of the process of ordering the world. Other research suggests that they may have internalized the attitudes of society at large to immigrants. In fact, a survey of G5teborg adolescents has shown that Swedish youth view immigrants in negative terms.

1.9 Aims of the Present Studies

As stated in the introduction, the studies reported here attempted to investigate the attitudes between Swedes and immigrants by surveying a sample of Swedish and immigrant youth. It also attempted to evaluate the understanding of these attitudes by the target group, and then to make a connection between the attitudes and behaviour of the attitude-holders. Finally, the paper examines the findings from the studies in relation to society as a whole, and particularly in relation to school programmes.

Chapter 2

Methodology for the Studies

2.1 Basis of the Technique

The method used in the studies reported here involves an analysis of the congruence/discongruence of inter-racial perceptions among immigrants and Swedes. It examines inter-group relationships by measuring how one group perceives (construes) the other, and how it perceives it is being perceived by the other. The theoretical basis of this technique is the Interpersonal Perception Technique which was devised and developed by Laing, Phillipson and Lee (1966) as a tool for psychotherapy and marriage counselling. Although it was originally designed as an aid to the counselling of couples, or pairs of individuals who experience difficulty in their relationship with each other, it is argued here that the technique is also a valid means of analyzing data collected from dichotomous groups in a society. So, *whereas* Laing et al constructed their model in terms of individuals, the present studies used the same model to conceptualize social relationships between individuals as members of different groups.

Basically, the model sees interpersonal behaviour in any social setting as a function of experience, with both experience and behaviour always being seen in relationship to someone or something other than the self. This, in the simplest form at the individual level may be represented diagrammatically as in Figure 2. The behaviour of individual A toward individual B is in part a function of A's experience of B, as the behaviour of each to the other is mediated by the experience of each of the other. Thus, in A's behaviour toward B, there are three components or phases that can be identified:

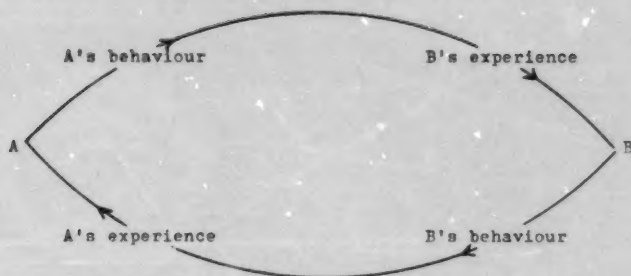


Figure 2. Diagrammatic representation of interpersonal behaviour according to the Interpersonal Perception Technique.

- (1) the behaviour of B
- (2) A's experience of B's behaviour
- (3) the behaviour of A

However, the transformation of B's behaviour to A's experience entails all the constitutional and culturally-conditioned structures of perception that contribute to the way A construes the world. Much of this has never been open to reflective awareness - that is, "people are programmed like computing machines to handle incoming data according to prescribed instructions" (Laing et al, p.10). The behaviour of people depends then on a matrix of unquestioned, and to them unquestionable assumptions or expectations concerning the

different members of society. In the case of the studies reported here, the "prescribed instructions" or "unquestioned assumptions" may be seen as the attitudes and stereotypes of what is good/bad etc. with respect to cultural characteristics and behaviour. The above shema may be redrawn then as shown in Figure 3.

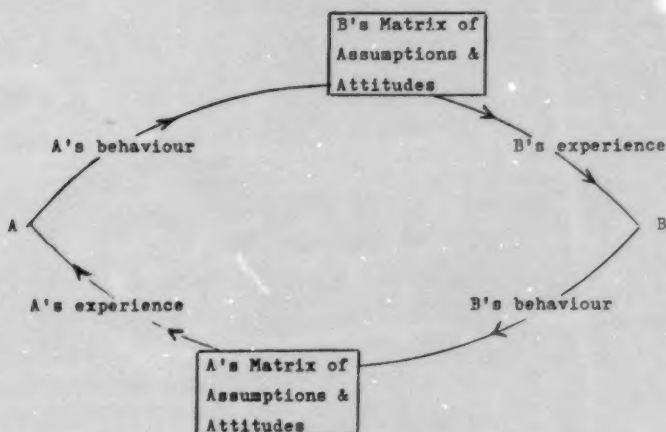


Figure 3. Expanded representation of interpersonal behaviour according to the Interpersonal Perception Technique.

The method used in the current studies attempted to investigate the structure of this dyadic interaction situation, in relation to Swedes and immigrants. It differs from other attitudinal studies in that while the subjects were asked to focus on

their relationship with, and attitude to others, their responses were first obtained individually, then matched on a group basis across groups. That is, it elicited from individuals, both Swedes and immigrants, their view of their share in the process of their dyadic interaction with each other, as well as their descriptions of their attitudes to themselves and to each other. The dyad consists of two epicentres of experience: it has two points of view or two perspectives, that of the Swedes and that of the immigrants. In these studies, the interest at the first level was on the following four relationships:

- (1) Swedes' attitude to themselves
- (2) Swedes' attitude to immigrants
- (3) Immigrants' attitudes to Swedes
- (4) Immigrants' attitudes to themselves

Adapting the system used by Laing et al to denote these relationships, the direct perspective of the Swedes and the immigrants on themselves and each other can be represented as follows:

$$S \rightarrow S$$

$$I \rightarrow S$$

and

$$S \rightarrow I$$

$$I \rightarrow I$$

Following on from the model being used here, it is argued that the behaviour of immigrants is not guided only by their view of Swedes, but also by what they think of the Swedes view of them. The opposite is true for Swedes. The findings of Olkiewicz (1975) cited in Chapter 1, clearly illustrate this process in operation, with the immigrants withdrawing into their own sub-community because of their perception

(right or wrong) of the Swedes' attitude to them. So, here interest centres on a more complicated, indirect second-level perspective, namely the immigrants' view or perception of the Swedes' view of immigrants, and vice-versa. This can be referred to as the meta-perspective of each group.

Although perspectives or points of view can reced logically into infinity, the model being used here is limited to two levels, the direct and meta-perspectives. In the Interpersonal Perception Technique, Laing et al employ a third level, the meta-meta-perspective, but this level was not appropriate to the present studies. In these studies, the "issues" at the meta-perspective level were the relationships described above, that is, $S \rightarrow S$, $S \rightarrow I$, $I \rightarrow I$, and $I \rightarrow S$. The perspectives on these relationships will be those of the Swedes (S), and those of the immigrants (I), and each group's perspective is directed at the other's relationship with the other and itself. So, if for example, there are two stimulus statements X, say concerned with immigrant inferiority, and Y, say concerned with Swedish superiority, the two different levels of perspective are as follows:

The direct level:

$S \rightarrow X$ gives the Swedes' view of immigrants

$S \rightarrow Y$ gives the Swedes' view of Swedes

and

$I \rightarrow X$ gives the immigrants' view of immigrants

$I \rightarrow Y$ gives the immigrants' view of Swedes

The meta-perspective level:

$S \rightarrow I \rightarrow X$ gives the Swedes' perception of the
immigrants' view of themselves

$S \rightarrow I \rightarrow Y$ gives the Swedes' perception of the
immigrants' view of Swedes

and

$I \rightarrow S \rightarrow X$ gives the immigrants' perception of the
Swedes' view of immigrants

$I \rightarrow S \rightarrow Y$ gives the immigrants' perception of the
Swedes' view of themselves

One of the facets of reality that can be explored with this method is the extent to which the dyad as a system may possess properties (patterns of conjunction and disjunction) which may influence the way in which Swedes and immigrants interact and inter-experience each other. To investigate this, there are a number of reciprocally matched comparisons that can be made in this dyadic system. It should be noted that non-reciprocally matched comparisons simply involve the collection of information about how each group perceives itself and the other, and the construction of a profile of these viewpoints. By this method, a set of characteristics that each group attributes to itself and the other is gathered. This is descriptive material, and although required for this study it was not sufficient for the proposed analyses. Rather, this study had a further interest, the pattern that emerges when the views of the Swedes and the immigrants, direct and meta, are matched. Thus, it is no longer a matter of only whether immigrants and Swedes see each other in positive or negative

terms. Rather, it is a matter of whether or not the immigrants' perception of how Swedes treat them is concordant or discordant with how Swedes see themselves to be treating immigrants, and vice-versa. Thus, it is the pattern of concordant and discordant attributions made at each level of analysis which now becomes significant, not each group's set of attributions considered in isolation.

By the method of reciprocally-matched comparisons, the profile that this technique discloses is the profile of the relationship between two points of view. The following are the reciprocally-matched comparisons that were relevant to the present studies:

- (1) Comparison between one group's point of view and the other's on the same issue, which tells if they are in agreement or disagreement;
- (2) Comparison between one group's meta-perspective and the other's direct perspective, which indicates whether or not the former "understands" the latter.

Other comparisons involving the meta-meta-perspective give indications as to feelings of being understood, and realization of being understood, but these issues were beyond the scope of the present paper. Rather in the present studies, the comparison of $S \rightarrow (X)$ and $I \rightarrow (X)$ was used to indicate whether or not Swedes and immigrants see immigrants in the same way. Similarly, comparison between $S \rightarrow (Y)$ and $I \rightarrow (Y)$ was used to find if Swedes and immigrants have concurrent attitudes to Swedes. At the second level, comparing $S \rightarrow (X)$ and $I \rightarrow S \rightarrow (X)$ indicated if immigrants correctly perceive the (stated) attitudes of Swedes to them. So, if Swedes believe that immigration is good, for example, but immigrants

perceive Swedes as thinking immigration is bad, the immigrants have misunderstood the Swedes. In this case it is possible to speculate that Swedes do not behave in a manner consistent with their reported attitudes, or that the immigrants, in transforming the behaviour of the Swedes into their own experience, have misconstrued the behaviour because of the pre-existing attitudes, assumptions or prejudices in their "matrix" (see figure 3) have distorted their perceptions.

2.2 Technique Developed for Study 1

The first and major study reported here was carried out in Södertälje, a town of 80,000 people, just south of the Greater Stockholm area. As discussed in Chapter 3 which details this study, there are three major racial groups in Södertälje: Swedes, Finns and Assyrians. As each of these groups has its own history and special ethnic characteristics, it was considered inappropriate to group Finns and Assyrians together as "immigrants" and to compare their collective responses to those of Swedes. Likewise, it was not appropriate, nor realistic to expect Swedish youth to stereotype Finns and Assyrians together. Rather, it was proposed that the method described above in a general sense should be applied to each pair of these three racial groups, which although making the study more complicated, would have an in-built advantage in that in each case, the third group could be used as an "outside observer" of the relationship under consideration.

The data obtained by applying the above method to the three groups of subjects concerned can be represented in the

manner shown in Table 1, with "S" representing Swedes, "F" representing Finns, "A" representing Assyrians, and " $\rightarrow$ " being read as 'attitude towards'.

Table 1
Summary of Perspectives on Relationships
Examined in Study 1

$F \rightarrow S$ $S \rightarrow F \rightarrow S$ $A \rightarrow F \rightarrow S$	$F \rightarrow A$ $A \rightarrow F \rightarrow A$ $S \rightarrow F \rightarrow A$	$F \rightarrow F$ $A \rightarrow F \rightarrow F$ $S \rightarrow F \rightarrow F$
$A \rightarrow S$ $S \rightarrow A \rightarrow S$ $F \rightarrow A \rightarrow S$	$A \rightarrow F$ $F \rightarrow A \rightarrow F$ $S \rightarrow A \rightarrow F$	$A \rightarrow A$ $S \rightarrow A \rightarrow A$ $F \rightarrow A \rightarrow A$
$S \rightarrow A$ $A \rightarrow S \rightarrow A$ $F \rightarrow S \rightarrow A$	$S \rightarrow F$ $F \rightarrow S \rightarrow F$ $A \rightarrow S \rightarrow F$	$S \rightarrow S$ $F \rightarrow S \rightarrow S$ $A \rightarrow S \rightarrow S$

The first cluster of data above for example concerns the attitudes of Finns to Swedes. With this data it is possible to compare the Finns attitude to Swedes with the Swedes' perception of this. In addition though, both of these can be compared to the perception of this relationship by Assyrians, an "outside observer" group in that they are not directly involved in this relationship themselves. Similarly, the

other clusters concern other relationships between pairs of groups, and of each group to itself.

2.3 Obtaining the Data

There are many possible techniques to investigate attitudes, but in these studies one of the primary requirements was simplicity. This was a consequence of two factors: firstly, the respondents were school-age adolescents, many of whom were immigrants having a mother tongue other than Swedish; and secondly, the studies attempted to survey meta-perspectives, which in itself involves a complicated technique.

In his 1978 study with Göteborg adolescents, Takab asked his subjects to select from a list of adjectives those that describe Swedes and those that describe immigrants. By analyzing the chosen adjectives, he was able to determine whether the attitudes of each group to itself and to the other were positive or negative. In this technique there is no measure of validity, and analysis depends on subjective sorting rather than objective scoring criteria. The present studies employed a more structured measuring instrument, adapted from the scale developed by Bagley and Verma (1972, 1975 and 1978), and Verma and Bagley (1973 and 1978). This scale was prepared to measure racial attitudes of English adolescents, and, it is based on certain items from the Wilson-Patterson Conservatism Scale (Wilson and Patterson, 1968; Wilson 1973), whose great merit is said to be its simple format, the ease with which it can be understood and filled in by respondents, its freedom from response sets, and its general reliability and validity (Wilson, 1973). The stimuli

are either single words or short phrases (for example, 'coloured immigration'), and respondents are simply asked which stimuli they approve of, favour or believe in.

2.4 Background to the Attitude Questionnaire

Wilson (1970) found from an unrotated principal components analysis of the Conservatism scale that there existed a strong general factor of conservatism. A rotated analysis indicated that separate factors of racial and religious/moralistic attitudes existed, which if collapsed through oblique, promax rotation to a single factor, produced a general conservatism factor. This general factor was found to be stable across different samples, and it was further shown that it was made up of two naturally orthogonal components representing racist-punitive and religious-moralistic attitudes.

In a further study, Bagley (1973) found that in a joint factor analysis of the items of the conservatism scale and a measure of general racial attitudes, a clear factor emerged on rotation on which all the racial items of the conservatism scale and the eight items of the general prejudice scale all loaded strongly.

In order to develop a scale of racial attitudes in adolescents that would also reflect religious attitudes, Bagley and Verma (1972) expanded the number of religious items in the original Wilson-Patterson scale, and retained only the highest loading items of general conservatism. A principal components analysis showed the new 13-item subscale of racial attitudes to be factorially valid.

Further developmental work was carried out on this general racism scale, and at the same time scales designed for measuring anti-Black, anti-Asian and anti-White attitudes were prepared. The new general racism scale was expanded to include 21 items; the Anti-Black scale contained 8 items, the Anti-Asian scale 7 items, and the Anti-White scale 5 items. These three subscales (with which the general racism scale overlapped) were then included in a longer questionnaire employing the original Wilson-Patterson format.

In order to study the factorial structure, validity and internal reliability of the new subscales, Bagley and Verma (1978) analysed the responses of 917 subjects selected from 39 schools in the main urban areas of England. The sample included Whites (732), Blacks (105) and Asians (80). The results showed that whites scored relatively low on the Anti-White scale, Blacks significantly lower than Whites on the Anti-Black scale, while Asians scored significantly lower than the other groups on the Anti-Asian scale. Factor analyses established that the subscales have factorial validity.

In their concluding remarks, Bagley and Verma argued that all the work done on these scales to date points to the internal reliability and general validity of the various forms of the scale. As a further indication of this, a curriculum evaluation study has shown that various types of teaching in the race-relations area are followed by a reduction in the amount of prejudice as measured by these subscales (Verma and Bagley, 1978)

Thus, the scale developed by Bagley and Verma has many features that made it attractive and suitable for the present studies:

- (1) its simple format;
- (2) its ability to measure attitudes to multiple racial groups;
- (3) the prior-established validity and reliability of these subscales;
- (4) the authors' indication (private communication) that the scale is flexible and can be adjusted according to cultural context.

On the basis of the above, the scale was modified by substituting the racial groups under study in these studies -Finns, Assyrians and Swedes - for the racial groups in the original scale. Some other slight modifications were made on the grounds of cultural context, and subsequently the questionnaire was translated into Swedish and checked by several native Swedish-speakers.

To obtain direct perspectives on the relevant issues here simply involved asking the subjects to complete the questionnaire, and responses to certain groups of items reflected their attitudes to the racial group in question. The meta-perspective was more complicated and difficult to measure. Here it was desired to know what Swedes think Assyrians and Finns think, what Finns think Swedes and Assyrians think, and what Assyrians think Swedes and Finns think. Thus, each subject was asked to complete the scale a second and third time, on the basis of how they believe a typical member of each of the other groups would respond.

Hence, for example, the Finns' responses to the items relating to Assyrians on the initial task gave information on Finnish attitudes to Assyrians. The Assyrians' responses to these same items when completing the task the second time (as they believe a typical Finnish youth would respond) gave the meta-perspective - that is, the Assyrians' understanding of the Finnish attitude toward them. Lastly, the Swedes' responses to these items, again when they responded on the basis of how they believe a Finnish youth would respond, gave the "outside observer" view of this relationship.

A copy of the entire questionnaire is attached in Appendix 1.

2.5 Pilot Study to Test the Questionnaire and Technique

In order to determine whether or not the questionnaire was comprehensible, or whether the requirements were too complicated, a pilot study was carried out with 15 students at one of the high schools in Södertälje - five from each racial group. This study indicated that pupils had little problem with the task, found it enjoyable, and were able to complete it entirely in about 20-25 minutes. It also indicated that subjects were able to put themselves in the position of other racial groups - for example, those Swedes and Finns who were in favour of "sending home Assyrians" (item 52) thought that Assyrians would be against it, which is fairly logical. This is also significant in that this item is near the end of the scale, thus showing that the idea of responding as an Assyrian is not lost as the respondent proceeds and perhaps wearies.

2.6 Subscales and Scoring

The original scales of racial prejudice developed by Bagley and Verma, included small scales related to specific racial groups, as shown above. The version of the questionnaire that was used in the present studies included three subscales: an Anti-Swedish scale, an Anti-Finnish scale, and an Anti-Assyrian scale. The items that make up each of these subscales are shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2
Items Making Up the Anti-Swedish, Anti-Finnish
and Anti-Assyrian Subscales

Anti-Swedish Scale	Anti-Finnish Scale	Anti-Assyrian Scale
4. Swedish justice	5. Finns	3. Highly-educated Assyrians
8. Swedish superiority	7. Finnish immigration	11. Assyrian inferiority
14. Swedish morals	20. Finnish superiority	22. Assyrian neighbours
21. Swedes	27. Finnish doctors	24. Assyrian businessmen
33. Swedish inferiority	44. To employ Finns	46. Assyrian nurses
48. to have a Swedish boy/girlfriend	53. Finnish bus-drivers	50. Turks
		52. To send home Assyrians

Following Verma and Bagley, the questionnaire was scored by allocating two points for a "nej" (disagree/disapprove of) response, one point for a "?" (not certain) response, and no points for a "ja" (agree/approve of) response. If the item was directed in a negative way for a particular subscale, the scoring points were reversed (i.e. for items 11 and 52 on the Anti-Assyrian scale, and item 33 on the Anti-Swedish scale). Each subject was then given a score for each subscale by adding the scores for the items that make up that subscales.

The above scoring procedure was followed for the three completed questionnaires produced by each subject. Thus, in all, nine scores were obtained for each subject - his/her attitudes to each of the three racial groups, and his/her perception of the other two racial groups' attitudes to the three groups. In the analyses that follow, the scores of each group of subjects are given for each perspective. Within each group, t-tests were carried out for each of the nine scores to determine if there were any significant differences due to sex. Where there were significant differences between the scores of males and females from a particular racial group, the subgroups of males and females were treated separately in the subsequent comparisons. Otherwise, the average score of the whole group was used. Throughout, the probability level taken to indicate significant differences was 0.01.

2.7 Subjects: Defining the Immigrant Population

In the studies reported here, it was required to survey adolescents, and in order to obtain as complete a sample as

possible, the subjects were drawn from the final two years of compulsory schooling. It was hoped that although participation in the survey was voluntary, this would eliminate self-selection to a large extent - had gymnasiums been used, only a percentage of the relevant population would have been surveyed.

In obtaining and analyzing the data, it was necessary to consider how the term "immigrant" would be defined. It was apparent that, particularly in relation to Finns, the studies would be dealing with a group often referred to as "second-generation" immigrants. However, rather than being used as a term denoting all persons who were born to "first-generation" immigrants, the concept of second-generation immigrants has come to be a codeword for a variety of problems that affect a wide variety of children. It has been used to cover not only children born in the receiver country to the first generation, but also children and youth migrating from one country to another.

Widgren (1981) has discussed this problem of definition and its implications at some length, and concluded that it is only reasonable to include children who are effected by migration as a result of the emmigration of their parents or one of them, under the label "second-generation" immigrants. Thus, he sees sixteen possible categories of second-generation immigrants, determined by such factors as where the parents live, whether they have the same ethnic origin, where the child is born, and in which country the child lives. For the purposes of his study then, Widgren arrives at the definition that an immigrant youth is a "foreigner aged 12-20, born in the receiver country or having rejoined his/her family in

the receiving country". However, this definition would seem to imply that a child can be born a "foreigner" in the receiving country, and it is difficult to apply when parents are of mixed ethnic origin, one being a citizen of the receiving country. In the studies reported here, it was decided that the following criteria should be taken to define a child as being of immigrant status: a child born in Sweden of at least one foreign-born parent, or a child now living in Sweden who was born elsewhere of foreign-born parents.

Chapter 3

Study 1: An Analysis of the Relationship between Three Racial Groups in Södertälje

3.1 The Setting

This study was carried out in Södertälje, an industrial town situated immediately south of the Greater Stockholm area.

Historically, Södertälje has seen a great development over the last 80 years, beginning with a 20-year period of rapid industrial expansion at the turn of the century. Following this, the period between World War I and World War II was one of stagnation, and the population of Södertälje stabilized at around 15,000. However, from 1940 onward, the town has again been the center of rapid expansion, and by 1980 the population had risen to 80,000. The major reason for this rapid growth has been the expansion of industries in the area, particularly that of Scania Vabis, a producer of heavy vehicles.

As stated in Chapter 1, during this latter period of expansion, particularly in the 1960's, Swedish industry became increasingly dependent on foreign labour. In Södertälje, the greatest number of foreign workers came from Finland, and by 1970 approximately 7,700 Finnish citizens were resident in Södertälje, accounting for 70% of the foreign population of the town. During the 1970's the number of foreigners continued to increase, until by 1980 more than 16% of Södertälje's population was made up of non-Swedish citizens. However, in addition to the increased size of the immigrant population, the character of the immigrant population had been changed by the mass arrival of Assyrians in Södertälje, a change well-documented by Björklund (1981).

Thus, at present three prominent racial/ethnic groups can be identified in Södertälje - the Swedes, the immigrant Finns, and the more recent arrivals, the Assyrians. It was these three groups that were the subject of this study.

3.2 The Subjects

The subjects used in this study were 104 Swedes, 63 Finns and 54 Assyrians, taken from three schools in Södertälje. All the Swedish subjects, 54 male and 50 females, were born in Sweden, as were both their parents. The breakdown of the Finnish sample is given in Table 3, and the Assyrians in Table 4.

Table 3

Breakdown of the Finnish Sample by Place of Birth¹
of Self and Parents, Sex, and Home Language

Birthplace		Sex		Total	Home Language		
Self	Parents	Male	Female		Finnish	Swedish	Both
F	F - F	10	18	28	20	1	7
S	F - F	15	9	24	12	7	5
S	S - F	7	4	11	0	11	0
Total		32	31	63	32	19	12

¹F = Finland, S = Sweden

Table 4

Breakdown of the Assyrian Sample by Place of Birth
of Self and Parents, and Sex¹

Place of Birth		Sex		Total
Self	Parents	Male	Female	
Turkey	Turkey	24	14	38
Syria	Syria	0	4	4
Lebanon	Lebanon	3	1	4
Turkey	Syria	0	1	1
Syria	Turkey	0	1	1
Lebanon	Syria	2	0	2
Turkey	Turkey/Syria	0	1	1
Syria	Turkey/Syria	2	0	2
Lebanon	Turkey/Syria	1	0	1
Total		32	22	54

¹ Home languages spoken were given as Arab, Turkish, Assyrian, Syrian, Armenian and Suryoyo. Swedish was not given as a home language by any subject.

The term "Assyrian" was used in this study to cover all those from Turkey, Lebanon and Syria, although those within the Assyrian community often make sharp differentiations between these. In fact, in completing the questionnaire, some respondents actually substituted Syrian for Assyrian in the items, and wrote at the end that they are Syrian not Assyrian. This problem of categorization is discussed more fully by Björklund (1981) who, however, also decided upon the use of the umbrella term Assyrian in his work.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 The Relationship between Swedes and Finns

3.3.1(a) Attitudes

Table 5 summarizes the scores obtained by the Swedes and the Finns on the Anti-Swedish scale. The maximum score possible on this scale is 12, and such a score would indicate a negative response to each item that was pro-Swedish in direction, and a positive response to item 33 which is anti-Swedish in nature.

Table 5
Scores of the Swedes and Finns on the Anti-Swedish Scale

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Swedish Males	54	2.76	2.82
Swedish Females	50	2.98	
Finnish Males	32	4.03	3.97
Finnish Females	31	3.90	

It can be seen from Table 5 that, as expected the Swedes scored low on this scale. Similarly, although the Finns' average score is significantly higher than that of the Swedes ($p < 0.001$), their score is well below the half-way mark on this scale. In fact, around 54% of the Finnish responses to items from this scale were in a pro-Swedish direction, while only 20% were in an anti-Swedish direction.

Table 6 shows the scores obtained by these two groups on the Anti-Finnish scale. As for the Anti-Swedish scale, a score of 12 would indicate the maximum anti-Finnish attitude.

Table 6
Scores of the Swedes and Finns on the Anti-Finnish Scale

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Swedish Males	54	4.50	3.85
Swedish Females	50	3.14	
Finnish Males	32	2.13	2.57
Finnish Females	31	3.00	

As for the Anti-Swedish scale, the target group of this scale, the Finns, scored significantly lower than the other group, here the Swedes ($p < 0.001$). Both groups' scores are less than the half-way point on the scale, and therefore it cannot be reasonably argued that the Swedes' stated attitude

to the Finns is negative.

A test for significance showed that in fact the Swedish females scored significantly less ($p < 0.001$) than the Swedish males, and that their score does not differ significantly from that of the Finns themselves, as does the score of the Swedish males.

In all, 56% of the Swedes' responses (50% of the males' and 63% of the females') were pro-Finnish, while only 20% (25% and 16% respectively for males and females) were anti-Finnish.

3.3.1(b) Meta-perspectives on the Swedish-Finnish Relationship

In this case, the interest is in the Swedes' prediction of how the Finns would respond to the Anti-Swedish scale, and the Finns' prediction of the Swedish response to the Anti-Finnish scale. In each case, the Assyrians' responses provide an "impartial" evaluation.

(1) The Swedes' Prediction of the Finnish Response to the Anti-Swedish Scale

Table 7 summarizes the scores on the Anti-Swedish scale obtained by Swedes when they completed the questionnaire as they thought a typical Finnish adolescent would. The table also shows the Assyrians' view of Finnish attitudes to Swedes, and the actual score obtained by Finns on the Anti-Swedish scale of the questionnaire.

Tests of significance indicate that the average Finnish score is significantly less than that predicted for them by the Swedes ($p < 0.001$). That is, the Finns responded to the Anti-Swedish scale in a manner such that they are significantly

Table 7

Swedes' Meta-perspective of Finns' Anti-Swedish Attitudes,
 Assyrians' Prediction of the Finns' Scores,
 and the Scores Obtained by Finns

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Score	Group Average
Swedish Males → F	52	5.90	5.72
Swedish Females → F	49	5.50	
Assyrian Males → F	30	5.88	4.87
Assyrian Females → F	16	4.33	
Finnish Males	32	4.03	3.97
Finnish Females	31	3.90	

less anti-Swedish than the Swedes believe them to be. The Assyrian view is between the above two scores, and is not significantly different from either of them. Thus, the overall Assyrian view does not support either the Swedish prediction of the Finns' attitude, as recorded by this scale, nor the stated attitude of the Finns.

In summary, the Finns report themselves as being significantly less anti-Swedish than the Swedes believe them to be. The Assyrian perspective on this aspect of the Swedish/Finnish relationship does not support either the Finns' claim, nor the Swedes' interpretation of the Finns' attitude.

(2) The Finns' Prediction of the Swedish Response to the
Anti-Finnish Scale

Table 8 summarizes the scores on the Anti-Finnish scale that were obtained by Finns when completing the questionnaire as they thought a typical Swede would. For reference, the table also contains the Assyrian view of the Swedes' attitude to Finns, and the actual scores obtained by the Swedes on the Anti-Finnish scale.

Table 8

Finns' Meta-perspective of Swedes' Anti-Finnish Attitudes,
Assyrians' Prediction of the Swedes' Scores,
and the Scores Obtained by Swedes

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Score	Group Average
Finnish Males → S	26	5.78	6.18
Finnish Females → S	30	6.65	
Assyrian Males → S	31	5.94	6.42
Assyrian Females → S	19	7.21	
Swedish Males	54	4.50	3.85
Swedish Females	50	3.14	

T-tests show that there are no differences due to sex for either the Finnish or Assyrian predictions. Further, there is no significant difference between the scores obtained by the Finns and Assyrians when they completed the questionnaire as they thought a typical Swede would. However, both these

predicted scores are significantly higher than the Swedes' score, when the Swedish males and females are taken as either one whole group, or as two separate subgroups ($p < 0.01$ in each case). Thus, the Finns believe that the Swedes are significantly less pro-Finnish than the Swedes say they are, and this view is supported by the Assyrians. The scores predicted for the Swedes by the Assyrians and Finns both lie around the half-way mark of the scale, and in both cases about 30% of the predicted responses were in a pro-Finnish direction and about 30% in an anti-Finnish direction.

3.3.1(c) Summary of the Finnish-Swedish Relationship

The results of this part of the survey are summarized diagrammatically in Figure 4. They indicate that both the Swedes and the Finns report that they have a positive attitude to each other. Although Swedes believe that Finns are not as positive to Swedes as the Finns say they are, the perceived attitude of the Finns is far from negative. The Assyrian view is consistent with this, but does not lend greater support to either the Swedish or Finnish position.

Likewise, the Finns believe that the Swedes are less pro-Finnish than the Swedes state. In fact, they believe that overall, Swedes are slightly more negative than positive toward them. This viewpoint is supported by the Assyrians who see the Swedes as being even more anti-Finnish than do the Finns. So, it would seem that either the Finns have misinterpreted the positive attitude of Swedes toward them, or that the Swedes have understated their negative attitudes. The Assyrian view tends to support the latter interpretation.

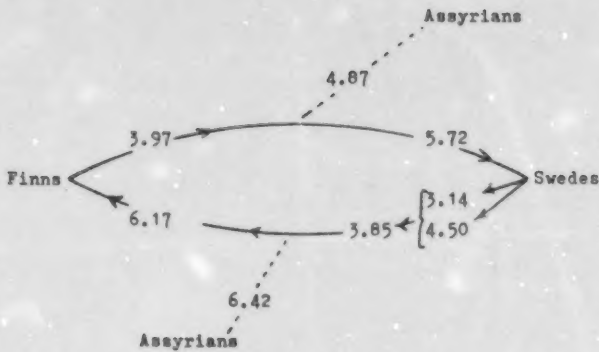


Figure 4. Diagrammatic summary of the Swedish-Finnish relationship.

3.3.2 The Relationship between Sweden and Assyrians

3.3.2(a) Attitudes

Table 9 summarizes the scores of the Assyrians and Swedes on the Anti-Swedish scale. The maximum possible score on this scale, as stated above is 12. As can be seen, the Assyrians' score of 4.78 is lower than the half-way point, and although as to be expected it is significantly higher than the Swedes' score ($p < 0.001$), it would not indicate strong anti-Swedish feelings. In fact, in all only 24% of the 324 Assyrian responses to items on this subscale were in a negative direction, while 44% were in a positive direction.

Table 10 shows the scores obtained by the Assyrian and Swedish subjects on the Anti-Assyrian scale. The maximum possible score on this scale is 14.

Table 9

Scores of the Swedes and Assyrians on the Anti-Swedish Scale

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Assyrian Males	32	4.63	4.78
Assyrian Females	22	5.00	
Swedish Males	54	2.67	2.82
Swedish Females	50	2.98	

Again, as expected the Assyrians scored fairly low on this scale, significantly lower than both the Swedish subgroups and the Swedish group as a whole ($p < 0.001$). The scores of the Swedish males and females are significantly different ($p < 0.001$), and while the females are not highly anti-Assyrian, the males are. Their score of 9.76 reflects a 55% negative response rate

Table 10

Scores of the Swedes and Assyrians on the Anti-Assyrian Scale

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Swedish Males	54	9.76	7.89
Swedish Females	50	5.86	
Assyrian Males	32	3.28	3.41
Assyrian Females	22	3.59	

and only a 16% positive response rate.

3.3.2(b) Meta-perspectives on the Swedish-Assyrian Relationship

In this relationship, interest is on exploring how the Assyrians perceive the Swedes' response to the Anti-Assyrian scale, and how the Swedes perceived the Assyrian response to the Anti-Swedish scale. The Finns' view of this relationship is also of interest

(1) The Assyrians' Prediction of the Swedish Response to the Anti-Assyrian Scale

Table 11 summarizes the scores obtained by Assyrians when they completed the Anti-Assyrian scale as they thought a typical Swede would. The table also contains the Swedes' actual score, and the Finns' prediction of how Swedes would score. Analysis indicates that overall, the Assyrians' prediction of the Swedes' score is correct: there is no significant difference between their prediction and the average Swedish score of 7.69. However, because the Swedish females scored significantly lower than did the males, the Assyrian perception that the Swedes are negative toward Assyrians is only correct for Swedish males. Their prediction is significantly higher than the score of 5.86 obtained by the Swedish females ($p < 0.001$).

The Finns predicted that the Swedes would score even higher than the Assyrians predicted ($p < 0.001$), and their prediction was also significantly higher than the score of the Swedes as a whole ($p < 0.001$), the Swedish females ($p < 0.001$), but not the Swedish males.

Table 11

Assyrians' Meta-perspective of Swedes' Anti-Assyrian
Attitudes, Finns' Prediction of Swedes'
Scores, and the Scores Obtained by Swedes

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Score	Group Average
Assyrian Males → S	31	8.26	8.90
Assyrian Females → S	19	9.95	
Finnish Males → S	26	11.81	11.0
Finnish Females → S	30	10.30	
Swedish Males	54	9.76	7.89
Swedish Females	50	5.86	

Thus, it would seem clear that both the Finns and Assyrians see the Swedes as having highly anti-Assyrian attitudes. This perception is in part correct in that the Swedish males score highly on the Anti-Assyrian scale. However, the Swedish females respond in a more positive manner, with nearly 40% of their responses being positive, and only 23% negative. This compares with a 55% negative response rate on the part of the males.

It is possible of course that in completing the questionnaire as a "typical Swede" would, Assyrians and Finns were thinking of a male stereotype rather than a female, and this issue will be taken up later.

(2) The Swedes' Prediction of the Assyrian Response to the
Anti-Swedish Scale

Table 12 summarizes the Swedish meta-perspective of Assyrians' attitude toward Swedes. It also includes the Finns' prediction of the Assyrians' Anti-Swedish score, and the score actually obtained by the Assyrians.

Table 12

Swedes' Meta-perspective of Assyrians' Anti-Swedish Attitude,
 Finns' Prediction of the Assyrians Score,
 and the Scores Obtained by Assyrians

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Score	Group Average
Swedish Males → A	50	8.12	7.79
Swedish Females → A	46	7.76	
Finnish Males → A	30	8.20	8.05
Finnish Females → A	30	7.90	
Assyrian Males	32	4.63	4.78
Assyrian Females	22	5.00	

Tests of significance show that the Swedes' predicted that Assyrians would be significantly more anti-Swedish than the score of the Assyrians suggests ($p < 0.001$). In fact, while the majority of Assyrian responses were in a pro-Swedish direction, the majority of Swedish predictions were in a

negative direction. This Swedish perception is supported by the Finns, whose prediction is not significantly different from that of the Swedes, but is significantly higher than the score obtained by the Assyrians ($p < 0.001$).

Thus, as above there are two possible explanations of this observed difference: either the Swedes and Finns overestimate the anti-Swedish attitudes of the Assyrians because they do not understand them, or the Assyrians understate their negative feelings toward the Swedes.

3.3.2(c) Summary of the Swedish-Assyrian Relationship

The results of the analysis of this relationship are summarized in Figure 5. They show that the Assyrians say they are positive toward Swedes, although the Swedes do not believe this to be the case. The Finns agree with the Swedes.

If it is taken that the Assyrians have responded in a manner that is in fact in accordance with their attitudes to Swedes, then the relationship is one that is marked by misunderstanding on the part of Swedes, and also on the part of Finns as they observe this relationship. That is, although the Assyrians feel relatively positive towards the Swedes, the Finns and Swedes do not detect this from the behaviour of the Assyrians. Since Finnish and Swedish culture are much more similar to each other than to Assyrian culture, this explanation is quite feasible: that Swedes and Finns have both misunderstood or misinterpreted the Assyrian behaviour.

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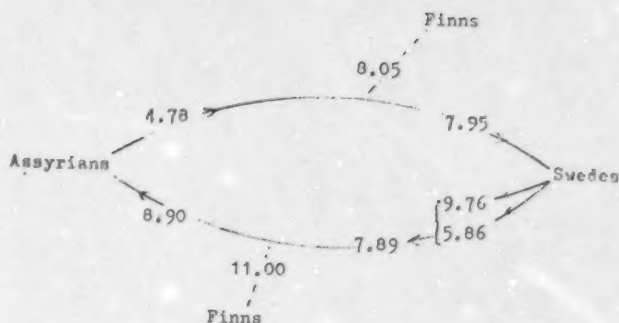


Figure 5. Diagrammatic summary of the Swedish-Assyrian Relationship.

The relationship from the other angle is different. Here the Swedes as a group are anti-Assyrian, and the Assyrians understand this. However, the Swedish score is made up of two significantly different parts: that of the males and that of the females. It is the former subgroup that is clearly anti-Assyrian in attitude, while the latter is not. The Finnish view of this relationship supports the Assyrians, and is also an accurate prediction of the Swedish males' anti-Assyrian attitudes.

Overall, this relationship analysis clearly suggests an unhealthiness on the part of Swedes, particularly the males who are anti-Assyrian in attitude, and if the responses of the Assyrians to the Anti-Assyrian scale are accepted as reliable, are prone to misunderstand/misinterpret the Assyrians.

3.3.3 The Relationship Between Finns and Assyrians

3.3.3(a) Attitudes

Table 13 summarizes the scores of the Assyrians and Finns on the Anti-Finnish scale. As to be expected, analysis of these results shows that the score of the Finns on this subscale is significantly lower than that of the Assyrians ($p < 0.001$). It is also notable that the scores of the Assyrians rather than being positive or negative, reflect an overall, neutral attitude to Finns. This is brought about by a mixed response, with approximately 33% of the items being answered in a pro-Finnish direction, 33% in an anti-Finnish direction, and 33% being neither pro- nor anti-Finnish.

Table 13

Scores of the Finns and Assyrians on the Anti-Finnish Scale

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Assyrian Males	32	5.41	5.83
Assyrian Females	22	6.13	
Finnish Males	32	2.13	2.57
Finnish Females	31	3.00	

Table 14 summarizes the scores of Finns and Assyrians on the 14-point Anti-Assyrian scale. As above, there is a significant difference between the scores of Finns and Assyrians ($p < 0.001$), but the difference is in the opposite direction. The average Finnish score is clearly anti-Assyrian

Table 14

Scores of the Finns and Assyrians on the Anti-Assyrian Scale

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Finnish Males	32	9.34	7.97
Finnish Females	31	6.65	
Assyrian Males	32	3.28	3.41
Assyrian Females	22	3.59	

in direction, but this is mainly due to the score of the males. Although not significantly less than the males' score, the females' score is in fact indicative of a neutral attitude overall.

3.3.3(b) Meta-perspectives on the Finnish-Assyrian Relationship

In this case the responses to be analyzed are the Assyrians' prediction of the Finns' score on the Anti-Assyrian scale, and the Finns' prediction of the Assyrians' score on the Anti-Finnish scale. The Swedes' view of these scores will also be used for comparison.

(1) The Assyrians' Prediction of the Finnish Response to the Anti-Assyrian Scale

Table 15 summarizes the predicted scores of Finns by Assyrians on the Anti-Assyrian scale, the scores that the Swedes predicted the Finns would obtain, and the scores actually obtained by Finns.

Table 15

Assyrians' Meta-perspective of Finns' Anti-Assyrian
Attitudes, Swedes' Prediction of Finns' Scores,
and Scores Obtained by Finns.

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Score	Group Average
Assyrian Males $\rightarrow$ F	30	8.23	9.02
Assyrian Females $\rightarrow$ F	16	10.50	
Swedish Males $\rightarrow$ F	52	10.56	9.55
Swedish Females $\rightarrow$ F	49	8.49	
Finnish Males	32	9.34	7.96
Finnish Females	31	6.55	

Overall the predictions of the Assyrians and Swedes are not significantly different from the score obtained by the Finns. However, the predictions of the Swedish males and females are significantly different from each other ($p < 0.01$), and the males' prediction is significantly higher than the Finns' obtained score ($p < 0.001$), while the females' is not.

It would appear that in this case the interpretation by the Swedes and Assyrians of the Finns' negative attitude to Assyrians is correct, with perhaps the Swedish males overestimating the strength of this negative attitude. The high score obtained by the Finns is mainly due to the high score of the males, and as for the previous relationship analysis

the instruction to respond as a "typical Finn" may have conjured up a male rather than female stereotype for the Assyrians and Swedes, hence their predictions are closer to the scores obtained by the males than those obtained by the females.

(2) The Finns' Prediction of the Assyrian Response to the Anti-Finnish Scale

Table 16 summarizes the scores that Finns thought Assyrians would obtain on the Anti-Finnish scale. Also presented in this table are the Assyrians' scores, and the scores that Swedes predicted Assyrians would obtain on this scale.

Table 16

Finns' Meta-perspective of Assyrians' Anti-Finnish Attitude,
Swedes' Prediction of the Assyrians' Score, and
the Scores Obtained by Assyrians

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Score	Group Average
Finnish Males-->A	30	8.07	7.40
Finnish Females--A	30	6.73	
Swedish Males-->A	50	7.34	6.60
Swedish Females--A	46	5.80	
Assyrian Males	32	5.41	5.63
Assyrian Females	22	6.13	

Analysis of the data in Table 10 shows that the score of the Assyrians is significantly lower than that which the Finns as a group predicted they would score ($p < 0.01$). The score predicted by the Finnish females however, does not differ from that obtained by the Assyrians. Neither the Swedish males' nor the Swedish females' predicted scores for Assyrians are significantly different from the actual Assyrian score, although they are significantly different from each other ($p < 0.001$).

Overall then, the stated average attitude of neutrality by Assyrians to Finns is well-understood by Finnish females and both Swedish groups. The fact that Finnish males perceive the Assyrians to be more anti-Finnish in attitude suggests that they have misunderstood the Assyrians to some extent.

3.3.1(c) Summary of the Finnish-Assyrian Relationship

The results of this part of the survey are summarized in Figure 6. The analysis suggests that the Assyrians are overall neither pro- nor anti-Finnish in attitude, and that this is correctly interpreted by the Finnish females. The Swedes also perceive the Assyrian attitude to Finns in accordance with the Assyrians' stated attitude. The Finnish males are different, and believe that the Assyrians have stronger anti-Finnish attitudes. The fact that they differ from the Assyrians, and the Swedish and female Finns' view suggests that they have misconstrued the Assyrian attitude.

The Finns as a group are rather negative towards Assyrians, but this is brought about by the extreme attitude of the males.

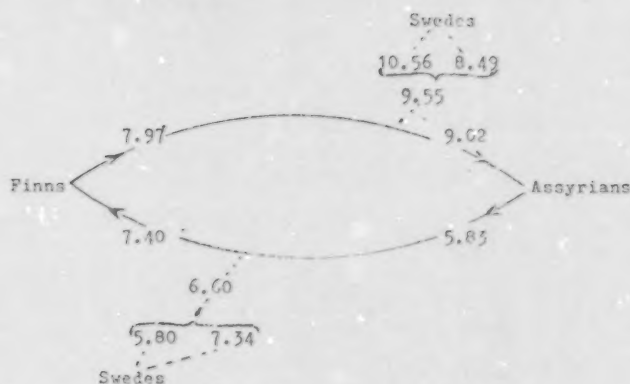


Figure 6. Diagrammatic summary of the Finnish-Assyrian Relationship.

Although not statistically significant, the males scored much higher than the females on this measure, having a 53% negative response rate, compared with 32%, and only a 19% positive response rate, compared with 39%. For their part, the Assyrians perceive the Finns as a group to be against them, but this perception is only accurate for the males. This is also true for the Swedes: their prediction of Finnish scores on the Anti-Assyrian scale is very close to the males' obtained score, but not the females'.

Overall, this analysis suggests that the Finnish males have the most difficulty in this relationship. They perceive the Assyrians, probably unjustly, as being anti-Finnish, while they themselves are, and are recognised as being anti-Assyrian. The Finnish females seem to understand the Assyrians' attitude

to Finns, but their stated attitude to Assyrians is misunderstood by the Assyrians and the Swedes. This however, may be a consequence of the method used here, in that stereotyping may conjure the more negative male-attitude holder's image, rather than the female image.

3.3.4 Other Findings.

3.3.4(a) Findings from the Anti-Assyrian Scale

1. There is no significant difference between the scores of Finns and Swedes on this scale. However, there are large differences due to sex. Both the Finnish and Swedish males scored higher than their female counterparts, although only the difference in the case the Swedes was significant ($p < 0.001$). The difference in the Finnish scores just fails to reach the 0.01 level of significance.
2. Both the Swedes and the Finns scored significantly higher than the Assyrians ($p < 0.001$), indicating that the scale has validity.
3. The Finns and the Swedes both thought that the Assyrians would score lower than in fact they did ($p < 0.001$).
4. The Assyrians think that Finns and Swedes as groups are equally as antagonistic toward them, which in fact they are.

3.3.4(b) Findings from the Anti-Finnish Scale

1. Overall, the Assyrians are more anti-Finnish than the Swedes ($p < 0.001$), but their attitude is still positive. Taken separately, the Swedish males are just as anti-Finnish as the Assyrians.
2. Both Assyrians and Swedes scored higher than the Finns on this scale ($p < 0.001$), but the Swedish females did not.
3. The Assyrian prediction of the Finns' score was correct, but the Swedes thought that the Finns would score lower than in fact they did ($p < 0.001$).
4. Finns think that Assyrians are more Anti-Finnish than they think Swedes are, but not significantly so. In fact, the Assyrians are less positive than Swedes toward Finns, as shown above, but not as negative as the Finns think them to be.

3.3.4(c) Findings from the Anti-Swedish Scale

1. There is no difference between the scores of Finns and Assyrians on this scale.
2. The Swedes' score was significantly less than both the Finns' and Assyrians' scores ($p < 0.001$), indicating that the scale has validity.
3. The Finns thought that the Swedes would score lower than they did ($p < 0.01$), while the Assyrians correctly predicted the Swedish score.
4. Swedes perceive Assyrians as being more anti-Swedish than Finns ($p < 0.001$), but in fact they are not, nor are they anti-Swedish as the Swedes think they are.

3.3.4(d) Findings Relating to Sex Differences

1. The Swedish males were more anti-Finnish than the Swedish females ($p < 0.001$).
2. The Swedish males were also more anti-Assyrian than the Swedish females ($p < 0.001$).
3. Taken as a group, the Finnish and Swedish males were significantly more anti-Assyrian than their female counterparts ($p < 0.001$). There was no significant difference between the scores of the Swedish and Finnish males, nor between the scores of the Swedish and Finnish females on the Anti-Assyrian scale.
4. Swedish males thought that Finns would be more anti-Assyrian than did the Swedish females ($p < 0.01$).
5. Swedish males also thought that Assyrians would be more anti-Finnish than did the Swedish females ($p < 0.01$).

3.3.4(e) The Ability to Predict Scores of Other Groups: Understanding

Each racial group was required to make six predictions as to how the other two groups would respond to the three scales used in this survey. When the predictions are compared to the relevant group's obtained score, according to the method and theory outlined in Chapter 2, a measure of the predictor's understanding of the other group is obtained. If the predicted score is significantly different from the obtained score, and the latter is accepted as a reliable indicator of the attitude in question, a misunderstanding is evident. The predictions made by each group, and their "correctness" or "incorrectness" are summarized in Table 17.

Table 17

Predictions of Others' Scores made by Each Group,
and their Correctness¹

Prediction	Result
<u>1. Swedes</u>	
a. S → A, Anti-Finnish Scale	Correct
b. S → A, Anti-Swedish Scale	Incorrect (too high)
c. S → A, Anti-Assyrian Scale	Incorrect (too low)
d. S → F, Anti-Assyrian Scale	Correct
e. S → F, Anti-Swedish Scale	Incorrect (too high)
f. S → F, Anti-Finnish Scale	Incorrect (too low)
<u>2. Finns</u>	
a. F → A, Anti-Swedish Scale	Incorrect (too high)
b. F → A, Anti-Finnish Scale	Incorrect (too high)
c. F → A, Anti-Assyrian Scale	Incorrect (too low)
d. F → S, Anti-Assyrian Scale	Incorrect (too high)
e. F → S, Anti-Finnish Scale	Incorrect (too high)
f. F → S, Anti-Swedish Scale	Incorrect (too low)
<u>3. Assyrians</u>	
a. A → F, Anti-Swedish Scale	Correct
b. A → F, Anti-Assyrian Scale	Correct
c. A → F, Anti-Finnish Scale	Correct
d. A → S, Anti-Finnish Scale	Incorrect (too high)
e. A → S, Anti-Assyrian Scale	Correct
f. A → S, Anti-Swedish Scale	Correct

¹Correct indicates no significant difference between the score predicted and the average score obtained by the group.

As reported above in Section 3.3.4(d), the only differences due to sex in the prediction of scores relate to the Swedes. The Swedish males thought that the Finns and Assyrians would be more anti-each other than did the Swedish females. Of these two observations, the only one that effects the data in Table 17 is the Swedish males overestimate of the Finns' negative attitude to Assyrians. Thus, although as a group the Swedish subjects' prediction of Finns' attitude to Assyrians is correct, the prediction of the males is incorrect.

From the table it can be seen that overall, the Assyrians, as a total group were far better able to predict the scores of the other groups on each of the scales. Their only problem was with the Swedes' score on the Anti-Finnish scale which they overestimated. Thus, it can be argued, on the basis that the obtained scores of each group are accepted, that the Assyrians show the best understanding of attitudes held by the other groups to themselves (the other groups), to Assyrians, and to each other.

The Swedes were able to make only two correct predictions: the score of each of the other groups on the scale that measures attitudes to the other. Their predictions of the other groups' attitudes to Swedes was too negative, and the predictions of each of the other's self-attitude was too positive.

The Finns, the final group, had no success at all in predicting the overall scores obtained by the other two groups. They saw each of the other groups as being more self-positive than they

actually were, and they saw them as being more negative to each other than they were. Further, they thought that the other two groups would be more anti-Finnish than they in fact reported themselves to be.

3.4 Discussion

Firstly, the technique developed for this study appears to be practical in that each group was able to place itself in the position of others to complete the questionnaire from other perspectives. The comparison of the direct and meta-perspectives was accomplished without difficulty, but there are some methodological problems in comparing stereotypes and individual responses which will be discussed further below.

The subscales developed from Bagley and Verma's original questionnaire for the Swedish situation appear to have validity in that each of the target groups of the different scales scored significantly lower than the other groups on their own scale. The one exception to this was the Anti-Finnish scale, on which the Swedish females' score was not significantly higher than that of the Finns. Further, in each case, the other groups predicted that the target group score significantly lower than it actually did, except for both the predictions of the Assyrians which were not significantly different from the obtained scores. Thus, the scales have face validity in that the target groups were expected by others to score very low on them.

The Finnish sample may have produced some anomaly by the definition that was used to describe a subject as Finnish. If 17% of the cases, only one of the subjects' parents was born in Finland, while the other parent and the subject were born in Sweden. A further 38% of the Finnish subjects were born in Sweden, although both parents were born in Finland. The question then, is how "Swedish" was the Finnish sample, if 55% of the subjects were born and presumably raised in Sweden? This is one area of the survey that could have been investigated further if time and resources had allowed.

There were also some problems with the Assyrian sample in that an umbrella term was used in the questionnaire to define all immigrants from Lebanon, Turkey and Syria. For the Assyrian subjects there are sharp and meaningful distinctions, and, for example, some of their responses to item 50, "Turks", were negative because Lebanese see Turks as different from Assyrians etc.. Also, those subjects coming from Turkey may have responded as they thought of Turks in Turkey - for them, "Turks" may well refer to a persecuting Muslim majority, hardly a favourable concept to Christian refugees, and likely to evoke a negative response instead of the expected positive response if this distinction between Assyrian groups is not made. Such problems may have had some influence on the results, but probably only a minimal influence because the Assyrian attitude to Assyrians as measured by the 7-item Anti-Assyrian scale was not the major subject of analysis. Rather, it was the Swedish and Finnish response to these items that was important, and such distinctions are not well-known and understood by these two groups.

The findings from this study indicate that there are problems of attitudes and understanding of attitudes between adolescent Swedes and the two major immigrant groups in Södertälje. Further, there are also indications of some problems between adolescents from the two immigrant groups.

The analysis of the data obtained suggests that the relationship that is least affected by negative attitudes is that between the Swedes and Finns. Both have fairly positive attitudes to each other, and neither group suspects that the other has a strong negative attitude toward it. Rather, they see the other as being at worst, and on average, indifferent to them. The outside observers on this relationship, the Assyrians, tend to agree with the perceptions of the target group in each case. This result, that the Swedes and Finns enjoy the best of the three relationships under consideration is perhaps to be expected in that they are the two groups with the longest history of contact, and with many cultural similarities. The Assyrians on the other hand are culturally very different from both these groups, and their later arrival in Södertälje is probably another factor that has made the establishment of a sound, mutually-understanding relationship with the other groups a difficult task.

The analyses carried out show that although the Assyrians report positive attitudes to the Swedes and an overall neutral attitude to the Finns, neither target group perceives this as being the case. It is only the Finnish females who do not believe that they are the subject of strong negative

feelings from Assyrians. Both the Finnish males and the Swedes believe that they are the subject of negative feelings from Assyrians.

One factor that casts doubt on the claim by Assyrians that they do not have negative attitudes to Swedes is that the Swedish point of view has the support of the Finns. On the Anti-Swedish scale, the Assyrians' score of 4.78 was contradicted by both the Swedish prediction of 7.79 (7.76 for females and 8.12 for males) and the Finnish prediction of 8.05 (7.70 for females and 8.20 for males). Thus, one possibility is that the Assyrians did not respond to the Anti-Swedish scale truthfully. A second possibility is that the Swedes and the Finns, in terms of the model being used here, fail to understand the Assyrians. The first possibility may have some value in view of the extensive tests of Cook (1966) which show that racial attitude scales may not yield trustworthy data, especially in a population that is well aware of the significance of prejudice. However, it is difficult to substantiate that the Assyrians' responses are false, because the same situation described above for the Anti-Swedish scale does not hold true for the Anti-Finnish scale. That is, although the Finnish males believe that the Assyrians are also anti-Finnish, they are not supported by the Swedes or the Finnish females. Rather, these groups support the Assyrians' reported position on the Anti-Finnish scale. For example, where Assyrians gave a 33% negative response rate to this scale's items, Swedes predict a 33% negative response rate for them, and Finnish females 28%. On the other hand, the Finnish males predict a 47% negative

response rate for them. Thus, it is not possible to argue that the Assyrians responded falsely to the Anti-Finnish scale. Assuming then that the Assyrian response to the Anti-Finnish scale was reliable, it is difficult to argue that the Assyrians would report their attitudes falsely on the Anti-Swedish scale.

The second possible explanation for the difference between the Assyrians' obtained score on the Anti-Swedish scale and the scores predicted for them by Swedes and Finns, is that the Swedes and Finns misunderstand the Assyrians. However, it would seem this misunderstanding only occurs for the Anti-Swedish scale (except in the case of Finnish males, who also fail to understand the Assyrians in relation to the Anti-Finnish scale). Perhaps in this case then, Assyrian youth are identifying faster and more strongly with Swedish culture and lifestyle than the Swedes and Finns believe them to be. As was documented in Chapter 1, research has clearly shown that children from underprivileged or low-status groups tend to show a much less direct preference for their own group, and sometimes show a direct preference for the dominant or high-status group. In the Södertälje situation that the Swedish culture is more open and less "repressive" for young Assyrians than their own is clear. Björklund (1991) has given several examples of how this leads many young Assyrians to identify with Swedish values. Thus, the situation may be that the Assyrian youth are more positive to all things Swedish, and have taken on more Swedish values than the Finns and Swedes realize. Table 18 gives some credence to this argument in that it shows that Assyrians are less conservative

Table 10
 Assyrians' Scores and Swedish and Finnish Predictions
 of their Scores for Selected Dummy Items from
 the Questionnaire¹

Item	Assyrian Score	Finnish Prediction	Swedish Prediction
9. Military service	6.10	13.5	13.78
30. Strict rules	11.48	7.33	7.45
39. Marriage between races	5.74	14.71	15.10
48. To have a Swedish boy/girl friend	6.65	10.83	12.14
51. Popmusic	5.19	9.27	8.39
54. Mini-skirts	9.81	14.67	14.29

¹The scores in this table are the average scores for each group for the particular item, multiplied by a factor of 10. A score of 0 would indicate maximum agreement with or approval of the item, while a score of 20 would indicate unanimous disapproval or disagreement.

in general attitudes in the "permissive" Swedish society than the Swedes and Finns believe them to be. In any case, the data obtained on the Anti-Swedish scale suggest that both Swedes and Finns do not understand the claimed pro-Swedish attitudes of Assyrians. Similarly, the Finnish males do not understand

that the Assyrians' attitude to Finns is not negative.

Possible explanations for the misunderstanding of Assyrians by Finns and Swedes are that either the Assyrians do not behave in such a way as to project their attitudes, or that the Swedes and Finns, in perceiving the Assyrian behaviour through their culturally-bound "matrix of assumptions and expectations" fail to interpret the Assyrian behaviour as being indicative of positive attitudes. A third possibility is that Swedes and Finns expect the Assyrians to be anti-Swedish (and anti-Finnish in the case of the Finnish males) because of the way they are treated by Swedes (and Finnish males). A fourth possibility is that the Swedes and Finnish males have some interest in "misunderstanding" the Assyrian attitude, particularly to Swedes, the receptive community in the sense that Assyrians are immigrants: the justification of their own negative attitudes to Assyrians, and/or the alienation of Assyrians from them. That they do have negative attitudes to Assyrians was clearly demonstrated by this study, and further, the Assyrians were shown to understand this. There was no dispute by Swedish and Finnish males that their attitude to Assyrians is negative, and in each case the existence of negative attitudes was confirmed by the other group as a whole. That is, both Finnish males and females thought that Swedes would be anti-Assyrian, and both male and female Swedes thought that Finns would be anti-Assyrian. The females however, presented a different picture, both groups stating that their attitudes to Assyrians are, on average neutral.

Overall then, the results indicate an unhealthy attitude on the part of both groups of Scandinavian males to Assyrians, an attitude which is perceived by the Assyrians to be held by the entire ethnic group. As stated in the Results section, this may be a problem associated with the method used here. If subjects are asked to respond as they think a "typical" Swede, Finn or Assyrian would, it is probable that an extreme stereotype will be selected, and as has been shown, the extremes in attitudes are exhibited by and projected by the males rather than females. Hence, the comparison of aggregate individual scores (for example, Finns' Anti-Assyrian score) to an aggregate of predicted scores for a stereotype (here, the Assyrian or Swedish responses as a "typical Finn" would respond) can be misleading as it is in the case of the Finnish and Swedish females' attitude to Assyrians.

Of course, another possible explanation for the difference in the scores of Scandinavian males and females on the Anti-Assyrian scale is that the females tended to underplay their negative feelings, and in fact have the same attitudes as the males who are more truthful. There are indications however that this is not the case. Firstly, in this study the Finnish and Swedish males also tended to have more extreme predictions than females for attitudes held by others, and there is no apparent reason for females to underplay the negative attitudes they perceive others to hold. Rather, it would appear that Finnish and Swedish males, in all aspects of this survey were apt to hold and attribute to others more negative attitudes than females. The second consideration

is that the obtained results of males having more negative attitudes than females has been well-documented in other studies: for example, Kawwa (1968), Miller (1969), Bagley (1973), Bagley and Verma (1975) and Bagley and Verma (1978) have all shown that white male teenagers tend to hold more racist attitudes than females.

A further interesting observation from the data becomes apparent if the responses to some of the dummy items are considered as follows. These items, Bible truth, Abortion and Divorce all relate to concepts which are important to Assyrian culture, which is strongly Christian. Table 19 shows the average responses of Assyrians to these items, and the score predicted for them by Finns and Swedes. The scores are multiplied by a factor of 10, and the range is 0 (strong agreement) to 20 (strong disagreement).

Table 19
Assyrians' Scores and Swedish and Finnish Predictions
of their Scores for Selected Dummy Items from
the Questionnaire

Item	Assyrian Score	Finnish Prediction	Swedish Prediction
6. Bible Truth	2.04	2.15	2.65
35. Abortion	14.63	16.10	15.82
55. Divorce	16.1	18.19	17.55

As can be seen in the case of these items, the Finns and Swedes were able to predict the response of Assyrians quite accurately. Thus, the Finns and Swedes know how Assyrians feel about certain concepts. However, this is at a cognitive level, in that the Swedes and Finns are demonstrating their knowledge of certain aspects of Assyrian culture. This is in contrast to the more affective realm of attitudes to other ethnic groups, with which the Swedes and Finns have more difficulty. Thus, knowledge of held beliefs that are central to culture does not necessarily lead to understanding of other attitudes, and education programmes that are concerned solely with this are unlikely succeed in changing attitudes. Rather in terms of the sociological theory of prejudice outlined in Chapter 1 that states that prejudice is determined by perceived dissimilarity of beliefs, such knowledge in isolation could possibly increase the negative feelings toward Assyrians held by Swedish and Finnish males. Certainly, the results of this study show that having certain knowledge about Assyrian cultural beliefs has not helped the Swedish and Finnish males to reduce their negative feelings toward Assyrians even to the point of neutrality. There is then, more to creating positive understanding relationships between these groups than mere knowledge of culture, and this will be the subject of broader discussion in Chapter 5.

Overall, it appears that the Assyrians are the group most "in touch" with the attitudes of other groups, even though they are the newest group in the triad, and ethnically the most different. It could be postulated here that the Assyrians

have been, because of these factors, forced to quickly and accurately evaluate the other groups in order to adjust to Swedish society. It will be recalled that all of the Assyrians in this sample were born in Turkey, Syria or Lebanon, and have therefore experienced the trauma of immigration. Because on the other hand, the Swedes and Finns are the majority groups and have had greater stability in their environment, there has not been the need for them to develop a conscious understanding of others, particularly this new Assyrian group. Thus, the Finns as a group could not correctly predict any of the attitudes held by Assyrians, or Swedes, and the Swedes fared only marginally better. The ability of the Assyrians as an immigrant group to work out and adapt to the Swedish way has been well-documented by Björklund, so this theory is perhaps not beyond belief.

3.5 Summary

In summary then the Swedish and Finnish males have the most negative attitudes of any group, and these are directed toward the Assyrians. For their part, the Assyrians say they have neutral/positive attitudes to both Swedes and Finns, and Swedish and Finnish females say that they have similar attitudes to Assyrians. The relationship between Finns and Swedes appears to be positive. Assyrians are the least understood group, but the best at understanding others' attitudes to them and to each other. Overall, the situation for them in Södertälje must be frustrating to say the least.

Chapter 4

Study 2: High- and Low-Contact with Immigrants and its Relationship to Attitudes and Understanding

4.1 Introduction

There has been much written on the effect that contact between racial groups has on inter-racial attitudes and tolerance. In his now classic book, The Nature of Prejudice, Allport (1954) claims that racial prejudice increases where, among other things, the size of a minority group is large or increasing. Williams (1947) has argued that the probability of racial conflict between a majority and minority group is increased the larger the ratio of the incoming minority group to the resident population, and the more rapid the influx. Similarly, Collins (1954) has stated that race relations tend to worsen when the immigrant groups increase in size.

One particular field of interest for researchers in this area has been in schools, where they have investigated the change in inter-racial relationships when there has been a change in the racial composition of the population. One natural field for such research was created by the introduction of the desegregation of schools order in the United States in 1955. The hope of the desegregation movement was, according to Bullock (1978), that as the different races studied together, they would realize that intelligence and ignorance, kindness and rudeness, physical prowess and clumsiness, and all other human characteristics are distributed among races. In time, such realizations would prompt students to stop applying stereotypes, and to respond to individuals on the basis of personal qualities. That is, the bringing of students from different ethnic groups together would in turn lead to greater

racial tolerance. However, in a review of the early research in this area, Amir (1969) concluded that the interracial contact resulting from desegregation had an inconsistent relationship with racial tolerance. The research showed that simply placing students of different races or ethnic origin in the same school, and treating them all alike does not necessarily lead to positive intergroup relations. This has been further documented, for example, by Dorr (1972), Amir and Sharon (1978), Slavin (1979), and by Aronson and Osherow (1980) who discuss the failure of desegregation to reduce prejudice. In the study by Amir and Sharon, which investigated changes in the attitudes of Western and Middle East Jews to each other when Israeli schools were desegregated, the authors found that in contrast to the assumptions of the desegregation movement above, neither the extent of previous contact, nor the degree of ethnic mix in the classroom affected attitudinal outcomes. The study refers to the two groups as High-Status (Western Jews) and Low-Status (Middle East Jews), and the results showed that although there was no change in the attitudes of the groups to each other, desegregation did in fact change the attitude of each group to itself: the High-Status group became less accepting of itself, and the Low-Status group more accepting of itself. However, the High-Status group continued to view the Low-Status group as inferior, while the Low-Status group continued to view the High-Status group as superior. Amir and Sharon conclude that the main attitudinal problem of both groups was in relation to the Low-Status group.

In another type of research project, Kawwa (1968) showed that London children who were in constant contact with immigrants in their school life were more negative to immigrants than children from another city with no contact with immigrants. His results showed clearly that locality, and therefore inter-racial contact, was the major determinant of racial attitudes.

If the situation in Södertälje is analysed in terms of the above theories and research, it is clear from the brief review of the town's recent history in Chapter 3 that the rapid and large influx of immigrants, particularly of Assyrians in the 1970's, should have led to the creation of racial attitudes that are more negative than those found in other parts of Sweden where there are few or no immigrants. Further, the fact that the immigrant and Swedish adolescents attend the same schools in Södertälje does not necessarily imply that these attitudes will be moderated. The results of Study 1 in fact indicate that the Swedish (and Finnish) males in Södertälje are rather negative in their attitudes toward Assyrians.

The purpose of Study 2, reported here, was to compare the responses of the Södertälje Swedish sample from Study 1 with those of an adolescent sample from another Swedish community that has minimal contact with immigrants.

In line with the above research and theories it was hypothesized that Södertälje Swedes would be more negative in their attitudes to immigrants than the comparative sample. Using the

technique developed for Study 1, it was further hypothesized that because of their greater contact with immigrants, the Södertälje sample would have greater understanding of the attitudes of the immigrants to Swedes, and to each other.

4.2 The Comparative Community

After some consideration, it was decided that Falun, an administrative town of 51,000 people, situated some 250 kilometers north-west of Stockholm would be an appropriate location for Study 2. It has a similar class structure to Södertälje, and in addition to being an administrative centre, it has some heavy industry as basis for its economy. It is an ancient town, built around a large copper mine that is said to have been in operation since the eleventh century. During the seventeenth century, Falun was the second largest town, after Stockholm, in Sweden, but during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it decreased in size and importance.

In recent history, the population of Falun was relatively stable prior to 1970, but since then has been growing steadily as people from surrounding areas have moved in to work in either the paper mill which employs 880 people, the Saab Scania heavy vehicle factory which employs some 500 people, or the administrative offices which employ around 40% of Falun's workforce, Falun being the administrative centre for the province of Dalarna. The immigrant population of Falun is about 900, or around 1.8% of the town's population. The largest immigrant groups are Finns (300), Norwegians (156), Danes (88), Asians (58), English (32) and West Germans (36).

4.3 The Subjects

The subjects for the Falun sample were 94 year 8 and year 9 students drawn from one of the high schools in Falun. The sample consisted of 50 males and 44 females, all born in Falun, and in each case having parents who were both born in Sweden. In line with the figure for the entire population of the town, 1.8% of Falun's school population is non-Swedish, so the contact with immigrants experienced by this sample is low.

The Södertälje sample, as detailed in Chapter 3, was made up of 54 males and 50 females, all born in Sweden and having Swedish-born parents. Compared with the Falun figure of 1.8%, in Södertälje's schools, 26.2% of students have a home language other than Swedish, and apart from the dominantly Finnish-speaking towns in the north along the Swedish-Finnish border, this is the second highest figure for the whole of Sweden. Thus, the Södertälje sample, in Swedish terms, is a high-contact group.

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Attitudes to Finns

Table 20 summarizes the scores of Falun and Södertälje subjects on the Anti-Finnish scale. Overall, the Falun subjects scored significantly higher than the Södertälje subjects on this scale ($p < 0.001$). This was also true when Falun males were compared to Södertälje males ($p < 0.001$), and Falun females were compared to Södertälje females ($p < 0.01$). It is noteworthy that in each sample, and overall, the males scored significantly higher than the females ($p < 0.01$ in each case). However, on this 12-point

Table 20

Scores of the Falun and Södertälje Subjects
on the Anti-Finnish Scale

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Södertälje Males	54	4.50	3.80
Södertälje Females	50	3.14	
Falun Males	50	7.34	6.01
Falun Females	44	4.50	

the only group whose score is indicative of a negative attitude to Finns is the Falun males. All other scores are indicative of a more pro- than anti-Finnish attitude.

4.4.2 Attitudes to Assyrians

Table 21 shows the scores obtained by the two groups on the 14-point Anti-Assyrian scale. On this scale, there was no significant difference between the overall scores of the Falun subjects (7.01) and the Södertälje subjects (7.80). However, within each group, the males scored significantly higher than the females ($p < 0.001$) and across groups, neither the males' nor the females' scores were significantly different (9.76/9.02 for the males, and 5.06/4.72 for the females). Thus, it is clear that both male groups hold reasonably strong anti-Assyrian attitudes, while the females do not.

Table 21

Scores of the Falun and Södertälje Subjects
on the Anti-Assyrian Scale

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Södertälje Males	54	9.76	7.69
Södertälje Females	50	5.86	
Falun Males	50	9.02	7.01
Falun Females	44	4.72	

4.4.3 Meta-perspectives

4.4.3(a) The Swedish Meta-perspective of Finns' Attitudes to Swedes

In Table 22, the scores that were obtained when each group completed the questionnaire as they thought a Finn would are shown for the Anti-Swedish scale. The table also includes the scores obtained by the Finns on this scale in Study 1. In comparing the Finns' score to those predicted for them by the two groups under study here, it is assumed that the Finnish sample from Study 1 is representative of all Finns, so that the Falun sample's stereotype of a Finnish youth is not different from that of the Södertälje sample's simply because the Finns in Södertälje are an atypical group.

Overall, the Falun subjects' prediction of Finnish scores is significantly higher than that of the Södertälje sample ($p < 0.01$). However, this is brought about primarily by the Falun males' prediction which is significantly higher than that of the females ($p < 0.01$), which in turn is not significantly different from that of the Södertälje subjects. All predictions of the Finns' Anti-Swedish score are significantly higher than the Finns' obtained score ($p < 0.001$), but the Falun males' is the most inaccurate. The other subjects view Finns as being neither pro- nor anti-Swedish, while the Finns surveyed in Södertälje were more pro- than anti-Swedish

Table 22

Falun and Södertälje Subjects' Meta-perspective of Finns' Anti-Swedish Scores, and the Scores Obtained by Finns

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Södertälje Males → Finns	52	5.90	5.72
Södertälje Females → Finns	49	5.50	
Falun Males → Finns	50	7.54	6.77
Falun Females → Finns	44	5.09	
Finnish Males	32	4.03	3.97
Finnish Females	31	3.90	

4.4.3(b) The Swedish Meta-perspective of Assyrians' Attitudes
to Swedes

Table 23 shows the scores obtained by each group on the Anti-Swedish scale when they completed the questionnaire as they thought a typical Assyrian would. It also shows the scores obtained by Assyrians from Study 1 on the Anti-Swedish scale.

Table 23
Falun and Södertälje Subjects' Meta-perspective
of Assyrians' Anti-Swedish Scores, and
the Scores Obtained by Assyrians

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Södertälje Males → Assy.	50	8.12	7.25
Södertälje Females → Assy.	46	7.76	
Falun Males → Assy.	48	8.20	8.05
Falun Females → Assy.	44	7.90	
Assyrian Males	32	4.63	4.78
Assyrian Females	22	5.00	

Analysis of the data shown in Table 23 indicates that there are no significant differences between the predictions of the Falun and Södertälje subjects, and that both groups significantly overestimate the anti-Swedish feelings of Assyrians.

4.4.4 Predictions Related to the Finnish-Assyrian Relationship

4.4.4(a) The Finns' Attitude to Assyrians

The scores of Södertälje and Falun subjects obtained on the Anti-Assyrian scale when they completed it as they thought a typical Finnish youth would are shown in Table 24. The actual scores obtained by Finns on this scale in Study 1 are also shown in this table.

Table 24
Finnish Anti-Assyrian Scores as Predicted by Falun and
Södertälje Swedes, and as Obtained
by Finns in Study 1

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Södertälje Males → Finns	52	10.56	9.55
Södertälje Females → Finns	49	8.49	
Falun Males → Finns	50	7.72	5.60
Falun Females → Finns	44	5.34	
Finnish Males	32	9.34	7.97
Finnish Females	31	6.65	

In both the Falun and Södertälje groups, the males' scores are significantly higher than the females' ($p < 0.01$), but, across groups, both the Södertälje males and females scored significantly higher than their Falun counterparts ($p < 0.001$).

Overall this is also true, with the average Södertälje score of 9.55 being significantly higher than the average Falun score of 6.60 ($p < 0.001$).

The actual score obtained by the Finns (7.97) lies between the Södertälje and Falun predictions. It is not significantly different from either of these, and therefore, as groups, neither the Södertälje or Falun subjects were better able to predict the response of Finns on the Anti-Assyrian scale. However, if sex is taken into account, the Falun males and the Södertälje females were the only two subgroups able to predict the score of Finns. The Södertälje males' score was too high, and the Falun females' too low.

4.4.4(b) The Assyrians' Attitude to Finns

Table 25 shows the scores obtained by Falun and Södertälje subjects on the Anti-Finnish scale when they completed the questionnaire as they thought a typical Assyrian would. It also shows the scores obtained on this scale by the Assyrian sample in Study 1.

Analysis of the data shown in Table 25 indicates that in both samples, the scores of the males and females were significantly different from each other, with the males' predictions of Assyrians' anti-Finnish feelings being significantly higher than the females' ($p < 0.01$). Across groups, the scores of males were not significantly different from each other, nor were the scores of the females. Overall,

the Falun and Södertälje samples had the same scores, which were not significantly different from those actually obtained by the Assyrians. That is, overall they perceive the Assyrians to be neither pro- nor anti-Finnish, which is what the Assyrians claim to be.

Table 25
Assyrian Anti-Finnish Scores as Predicted by Falun and
Södertälje Swedes, and as Obtained
by Assyrians in Study 1

Subgroup	N	Subgroup Average	Group Average
Södertälje Males → Assy.	50	7.34	6.60
Södertälje Females → Assy.	46	5.80	
Falun Males → Assy.	48	7.56	6.62
Falun Females → Assy.	44	5.59	
Assyrian Males	32	6.13	5.83
Assyrian Females	22	5.41	

Taken individually, each of the four groups predictions of the Assyrians' score does not differ significantly from that obtained by the Assyrians, except for that of the Falun males, whose prediction is significantly higher. Thus, the Falun males think that Assyrians are more anti-Finnish in attitude than they appear to be. This would also appear to be the case for the Södertälje males although their score is not significantly different from that obtained by the Assyrians.

4.5 Discussion

The most outstanding finding of this study is that location, which reflects the degree of contact with immigrants, appeared to play a minimal role in the determination of attitudes to, and understanding of attitudes held by Assyrians and Finns.

Falun and Södertälje subjects were equally anti-Assyrian, but each of their scores was made up of two clearly different components. The males in each sample were highly and equally negative in their attitudes to Assyrians, while the females were pro-Assyrian and to an equal extent as each other. Thus, the sole determining factor in attitudes to Assyrians was found to be sex rather than location.

The meta-perspective of Assyrians' attitudes to Swedes also suggested that location plays no role in the determination of understanding of Assyrians' attitudes to Swedes. Both groups of subjects had the same perceptions of Assyrians' attitudes to Swedes, and here, sex was not a factor. They believe that Assyrians are anti-Swedish, and this reflects a misunderstanding, because the Assyrians surveyed in Study 1 claim to be pro-Swedish.

In the prediction of Assyrians' attitude to Finns, a similar pattern emerged. The Södertälje and Falun subjects predicted similar scores for Assyrians on the Anti-Finnish scale, but neither groups' prediction was significantly different from the scores obtained by the Assyrians in Study 1. In both groups the males thought the Assyrians would be more anti-Finnish than did the females, but there was no difference

between the scores of the two male subgroups, nor between the scores of the two female subgroups. Only the Falun males were significantly inaccurate in their prediction of the Assyrians' anti-Finnish attitude, thinking that they would be, marginally anti-Finnish, when in fact the Assyrians claimed not to be.

Thus, overall, location did not have any role in determining attitudes to Assyrians or understanding of Assyrians attitudes, except in the one minor case just cited. The sole factor that does appear to have a role in determining attitudes to and understanding of attitudes held by Assyrians is sex, as it was found that males in both Södertälje and Falun are more apt than females to hold extreme attitudes to Assyrians, and to attribute negative inter-racial attitudes to them. So, despite their greater contact with Assyrians, the Södertälje sample is neither more positive, more negative, nor more able to understand Assyrians attitudes to Sweden and Finns, than the Falun subjects.

The analysis of data in relation to attitudes to and understanding of attitudes held by Finns is a little more complicated. Firstly, location does appear to play some role in the determination of attitudes, with males and females in Falun being significantly more anti-Finnish than their Södertälje counterparts.

However, of the four subgroups, only the Falun males hold clearly negative attitudes, with a 52% negative response rate to items from the Anti-Finnish scale, compared with 21% for the

Falun females, 25% for the Södertälje males, and 15% for the Södertälje females. In each of the groups, males scored significantly higher on this scale than females, so sex may be a confounding factor in attitude determination.

In the meta-perspective of Finnish attitudes to Swedes, a similar situation evolved. While all groups under-estimate the degree to which Finnish attitudes to Swedes are positive, the Falun males were the most extreme, thinking that Finns are negative in attitude to Swedes. Apart from this, there would be no difference in the Falun and Södertälje scores. So, location may play some role in determining understanding of Finns' attitudes to Swedes, but so does sex.

In their predictions of Finnish attitudes to Assyrians, the role of location was amplified. Here, the Södertälje sample predicted that the Finns would be significantly more anti-Assyrian than did the Falun subjects. However, neither group was inaccurate, because the Finns scored in the middle of their predictions. The Södertälje subjects, in thinking that the Finns would be more anti-Assyrians than the Falun subjects did, showed a greater awareness of Finnish attitudes in that Finns do appear to be anti-rather than pro-Assyrian as the Falun subjects think. Sex again played some role, with the males in each sample tending to believe that Finns are more anti-Assyrian than the females believe. However, both Södertälje males and females scores were higher than the scores of both Falun subgroups.

Overall, the situation here appears to be confused, with the Södertälje group being more aware of the tone of Finnish inter-racial attitudes than the Falun group, and being more positive to Finns than the Falun subjects. However, results are complicated by the fact that the Falun males were more extreme than others in their attitudes to Finns, and their interpretation of Finns' attitudes to Swedes.

In terms of throwing light on the relationship between contact with immigrants and prejudice, the conclusions that must be drawn from this study suggest that the relationship, if any, is very limited. There was no difference between the two groups' attitudes to Assyrians, but there was in their attitudes to Finns, with the Falun males being more negative to Finns than the other subgroups. Thus, the hypothesis that contact creates prejudice, and therefore that the Södertälje subjects would be more negative in their attitudes to immigrants than would the Falun subjects is not strongly supported. Rather, an hypothesis that relates sex and racial attitudes is clearly supported by this study, in contrast for example, to the findings of Kewva (1968) who claimed that location rather than sex was the major factor effecting attitudes. In both samples here, the males' scores indicated more negative attitudes to Assyrians, and less positive attitudes to Finns than did the scores of the females. This of course is consistent with the other research on sex differences in racial attitudes, as discussed in Chapter 3, but that these results support the sex rather than the location hypothesis is unexpected.

It can be argued then that the arrival of immigrants in Södertälje has not made the adolescent population more negative to immigrants than other populations of Swedish adolescents. Rather, they are more positive to Finns and similarly as negative to Assyrians. It may be of course, that the Falun sample's attitudes to Assyrians have, through the influence of the mass media, changed in line with those of the Södertälje sample. That is, the negative feelings to Assyrians has penetrated its way through the whole of Swedish society rather than remaining concentrated in Södertälje where a significant number of Assyrians live.

Another view might be that the results suggest, in contrast to the theories of Allport, Williams and Collins outlined above, that the population changes in Södertälje have had no influence on the attitudes held by the Swedes there, and the attitudes of both samples simply reflect the pre-immigration norms. In this case, although the hypotheses tested here stated that Södertälje subjects would have more extreme attitudes than the Falun subjects, one disappointing aspect of the results, ideologically speaking, is that contrary to the claims of many social psychologists (see Deutscher and Chein, 1948; Stephan, 1978) the high contact the Södertälje subjects have with Assyrians has not improved their attitudes to them. However, the results suggest that contact with Finns may have had some effect on improving attitudes to them.

The second hypothesis to be tested in this study stated that because they have more contact with immigrants than Falun

subjects, Södertälje subjects would have a greater understanding of their inter-racial attitudes. As for the first hypothesis, the results of this study do not support this contention: in no case did the Södertälje subjects clearly demonstrate a better understanding of Assyrians' or Finns' attitudes than Falun subjects. Both groups misinterpret the Assyrians' positive attitude to Swedes, and the Finns' attitude to Swedes, although in the latter case the Falun males were more inaccurate than the other subgroups. Similarly, in the case of Assyrian attitudes to Finns, although there was no overall difference in the ability to predict the Assyrians' scores, the Falun males were the only subgroup not to show understanding of the Assyrians. And finally, in predicting the attitude of Finns to Assyrians, neither group was accurate, but their misperceptions were in opposite directions. However, the Södertälje subjects were more able to reflect the overall feeling of the Finns toward Assyrians, but they tended to exaggerate this.

Thus, the results suggest that contact with similar cultures may be advantageous for positive attitude formation, but not understanding. Contact with different cultural groups does not appear to improve attitudes or understanding beyond the level of others.

Chapter 5

Summary and Conclusions

The research reported in this paper set out to investigate the attitudes between Swedish and immigrant adolescents, and how these are perceived by the target group in each case. The argument made in Chapter 1 stated that there has been a rapid change in the Swedish population in recent history due to the large influx of immigrants, and the setting for this research, Södertälje, has been one of the most affected towns in Sweden. The current generation of adolescents is the first to really grow up with immigrants as a permanent aspect of their environment, and thus, for the future of Sweden their attitudes are important. If at present they hold and in the future they maintain negative attitudes, such discordance may mark the beginning of a long period of inter-racial tension. The perception of each others' attitudes by Swedes and immigrants was also seen as important, in that this is a factor influencing inter-racial behaviour.

The studies developed a questionnaire for evaluating inter-racial attitudes, and also a technique utilizing this questionnaire to evaluate the understanding of such attitudes. The technique and questionnaire proved to be valuable means of investigating such issues, but there are some aspects that perhaps could be improved with the further development of both. These studies, pilot studies in the utilization of this approach, lacked time and resources, and therefore this could not be accomplished here. Similarly, the data collected has not been fully utilized in the analyses, and the answers to many questions that may arise from this report would possibly be available with further analysis.

Applying the method developed to Swedish and immigrant groups in Södertälje, the studies found that indeed there are problems of attitudes and understanding of attitudes in Södertälje. The worst affected group is the Assyrians, with Swedes and Finns, mainly the males, holding negative attitudes to them. The existence of such attitudes is recognised by the Assyrians, and confirmed by the other group in each case. Further, the Assyrians are probably misunderstood by the Finns and Swedes who incorrectly think of them as being anti-Finnish and anti-Swedish. According to the model utilized as a basis for the studies, this would be one factor contributing to Swedish and Finnish attitudes and behaviour toward Assyrians. The relationship between Finns and Swedes in Södertälje appears to be reasonably positive.

A second study showed that although contact with immigrants has not led Swedes in Södertälje to hold more negative attitudes than a comparison group to Assyrians, nor has it led to their attitudes becoming more positive. Further, their understanding of the Assyrians' attitudes was not found to be substantially better than that of the comparison group. Sex, it seems plays a greater role than contact in such issues, and males were generally more extreme than females in their attitudes and lack of understanding. The Swedes in Södertälje were however, more positive than the comparison group to Finns, but that their understanding of Finns is better was not confirmed.

In terms of these results and the future, there are some considerations that might be suggested to improve the relationships studied. As stated above, immigrants are now a permanent feature of Swedish society, and the attitude

of Swedes and Finns to Assyrians in the Södertälje schools surveyed is not positive. The mere teaching or transmission of knowledge about immigrant culture is not sufficient to improve attitudes nor to increase understanding, as the results of these studies have shown. Rather, where there are ethnically-mixed schools, the school programmes must be designed to foster ethnic integration if they are to make a worthwhile contribution to inter-racial relations. Thus, according to Allport (1954) if racial relations are to improve through racial contact, certain conditions must be met by these programmes. Without equal status between races, mutual dependence, common goals, and support from law, custom and authority, inter-racial contact will only accentuate the racial attitudes that already exist, thus possibly reconfirming or even exaggerating intolerance and prejudice. That such variables as equal status, common goals and mutual dependence do contribute to better relations and increased understanding has been shown by Elliot (1970), Cohen and Roper (1972), Deutch (1949) and Sherif (1955), for example.

In applying these principles to the classroom, Bullock (1978) has noted that mixed schooling does not automatically lead to greater tolerance, but the more intimate the contact, the greater the increase in tolerance. He recommends that in order to improve inter-racial attitudes, school administrators should use groups with mixed races and common rewards as a teaching technique. Other research has in fact investigated the effectiveness of the methods advocated by Bullock which use multi-racial learning teams - that is, small groups of

of students of different races, who work together and are rewarded on group performance. The technique relies on the principle that group co-operation increases mutual attraction among members (Lott and Lott, 1965), and is based on Allport's prediction that equal status and co-operative interaction among individuals of different races will be instrumental in breaking down prejudices. The effectiveness of such methods has been documented many times over - for example, Slavin (1979) conducted an experiment, the results of which support the proposition that multi-racial learning teams can improve race relations by increasing cross-cultural friendships and attractions. He argues that the results could not be attributed to teacher characteristics, nor to the "Hawthorne" effect. Weigel, Viser and Cook (1975) found that such team learning increased in-group liking and decreased cross-cultural conflict in some cases, and Bullock, as stated above found that while classroom mixing was not associated with greater racial tolerance, contact implying equal status was.

In other research, Slavin (1977) has demonstrated the effectiveness of bi-racial learning teams in increasing the number of cross-cultural friendships, as have Aronson, Blancy, Sikes, Stephen and Snapp (1975), and DeVries, Edwards and Slavin (1978). Geffner (1978) has also shown that interdependent and co-operative methods of learning yield important improvements in inter-ethnic perceptions. DeVries, Edwards and Slavin are then most succinct when they argue that the message for educators is clear: bi-racial learning teams reduce racial prejudice and conflict. However, Slavin (1979) is more radical in putting

the case when he argues that bi-racial learning teams should be developed as a replacement for, rather than a supplement to traditional teaching techniques.

Thus, co-operative learning represents a substantial change in the technology of classroom instruction, involving simultaneous changes in the reward, task and authority structure of the classroom, but the results of research indicate that worthwhile, for the effects of the technique on group co-hesiveness variables such as mutual concern and race relations are unquestionably positive. Not only this, it is also well documented that such techniques, of which there are a variety, increase student achievement and self-esteem as well as having other positive outcomes, which are described by Slavin (1980).

Whether or not the situation in Södertälje schools calls for such radical changes in structure is perhaps beyond the scope of this paper. Rather, this research has highlighted certain problems that exist in the relationships between the three racial groups surveyed, and which ought to be confirmed in further studies. Certainly, co-operative learning techniques would be well-suited to a situation in which there are more than two minority groups, and their potential benefits of breaking down stereotypes and increasing individuals' ability to handle their impact with critical power would seem very desirable. Further, if the implications of the sociological theories cited in Chapter 1 are valued, there are too many other aspects of Swedish government policy that may be leading to prejudice to allow this opportunity to reduce it, to pass.

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137

